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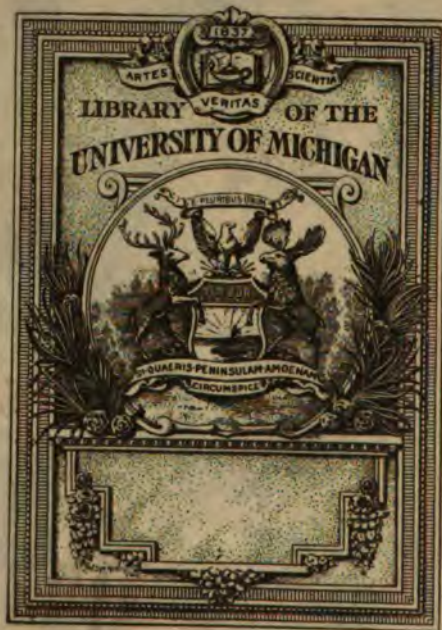
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RECORD OF SELECT LITERATURE	

Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey, Doctor of Divinity, Canon of Christ Church, Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford.

By Henry Parry Liddon, D.D., late Canon and Chancellor of St Paul's. Edited and prepared for publication by the Rev. J. O. Johnston, M.A., Vicar of All Saints, Oxford; and the Rev. Robert J. Wilson, Warden of Keble College. In four volumes. Vols. I. and II. Second edition. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 8vo, pp. 1010. Price 36s.

NEWMAN's well-known description of Dr Pusey's adhesion to the Oxford Movement is apt to convey the impression, although we may be certain it was not intended, that Pusey was merely a titular chief, useful to the real leaders because he possessed an assured position in the University, and in the world outside the University. This impression, if not altogether erroneous, is certainly incomplete. If the Oxford Movement is viewed from the standpoint of general Religious History, Pusey must be regarded as a much less important figure than either Keble or Newman; for the poetry of the former has ministered to the devotional life of the whole English-speaking world, and Newman's writings shaped the more serious thoughts of a multitude of cultivated men of every school, although it often gave a direction to their thoughts of which Newman disapproved. The position of the leaders is, however, reversed when the Movement is viewed solely in its relation to the Church of England. To genuine Anglicans, the fervours and the prophetic denunciations of Keble always appeared somewhat overstrained, and Newman's intellectual subtlety and speculative audacity created an uneasy feeling of distrust. Such persons turned to Pusey with a sense of relief, with the feeling that he at all events was a true son of the English Church, who could not be credited with foolish or dangerous designs. By the secession of Newman this feeling was strengthened; and in the crisis created by it, Pusey exhibited those qualities of leadership which the occasion most required. Had it not been for his stable English character, the Oxford Movement could hardly have survived within the Church of England. We are informed by the editors of the present volumes that it was the unanimous wish of Pusey's friends that Dr Liddon should undertake the duty of biographer, and that having accepted the responsibility, he henceforth devoted to it all the leisure that he could command. No better choice could

have been made, for Liddon was fitted by his literary gifts, and by his theological sympathies, to do full justice to one whom he described as "the most dear and revered of friends." Liddon's very limitations made him all the fitter to be Pusey's biographer; for although sometimes quickened and inspired by foreign influences, Liddon had but little insight into any form of religious thought outside his own communion. He was under no temptation, therefore, to become impatient, as a more philosophical divine might have been, with Pusey's innate tendency to measure all opinions by their fitness for promoting spiritual life within the Church of England.

There is not much in the narrative of Pusey's early years to suggest the future leader of an innovating movement. He sprang from the most stationary section of English society. His father, the Honourable Philip Bouverie Pusey, was a Berkshire squire, an estimable man, with good principles and strong prejudices. One of these was dislike to the teaching of the Evangelicals. The son was a dutiful and industrious boy, who became an excellent scholar more by dint of hard work than through the possession of special talents. His early letters from Eton, from Oxford, and from abroad, although they manifest kindly feeling, are conventional and commonplace. His father's opposition to a marriage on which he had set his heart, and which ultimately took place, caused him a good deal of unhappiness, and he used to describe his condition of mind by the then fashionable phrase, *Byronism*; but Pusey's *Byronism* appears to have been a very gentle form of the epidemic, to judge from his dutiful and rather conventional letters. But already his character possessed that magnetism which was so prominent in later life; and he must have been a considerable scholar, for in 1823 he was elected a fellow of Oriel College, the highest distinction in Oxford that could be won by competition. This brought him into the company of the most remarkable group of men that ever gathered in a single Oxford Common Room. Dr Copleston was provost, and among the fellows were Whately, Keble, Hawkins, Jelf, and Newman, while Davison, Hampden, and Arnold had only recently resigned. It is interesting, at a time when the proper method of examination is a subject of much heart-searching, to know the sort of examination set by the fellows of Oriel to candidates for the much coveted honour of a place in their society. Dr Liddon prints a letter from the late Dean of St Paul's, which gives a description of what the examination was at a somewhat later date, but it was probably of exactly the same character at the time Pusey was elected. He describes it as follows:—

"The idea of the examination was an old-fashioned one, rather pointedly contrasted with the newer modes then coming in, of setting questions implying a good deal of modern and of somewhat preten-

tious reading, in history, philology, and modern books of philosophy and political science. The Oriel common room was rather proud of its seemingly easy and commonplace and unpretending tests of a man's skill in languages and habits and power of thinking for himself. They did not care if he had read much, so that he came up to their standard of good Latin, good Greek, good English, and good sense. It created a prejudice against a man if he seemed to be trying to be flash, or to show off his reading, especially if he also showed that he did not know how to make good use of it."

Dr Liddon writes, that to belong to Oriel Common Room was itself an education. The distinctive characteristic of the Oriel mind was exactness of thought as the basis of exactness of expression; and everybody practised, more or less, the Socratic method of improving thought by constant cross-questioning. Among those brilliant debaters, Pusey, grave, slow, and silent, did not take an active part, but the discussions he listened to must have opened his mind to the problems which were already occupying the minds of some of the most acute and farseeing men of his generation. His fellowship brought him into closer contact with Newman, with the result that Newman conceived a high admiration for his religious character. On May 17th, 1823, he thus writes of the new friend whose name will be always associated with his own.

"That Pusey is Thine, O Lord, how can I doubt? His deep views of the pastoral office, his high ideas of the spiritual rest of the Sabbath, his devotional spirit, his love of the Scriptures, his firmness and zeal, all testify to the operation of the Holy Ghost; yet I fear he is prejudiced against Thy children. Let me never be eager to convert him to a *party* or to a form of *opinion*. Lead us both on in the way of Thy commandments. What am I that I should be so blest in my near associates?"

Pusey's life in Oxford was interrupted by a somewhat prolonged residence in Germany, whither he went, by the advice of Dr Lloyd, to study Oriental languages. This residence gave him a knowledge and experience which, according to Mr Matthew Arnold, would have changed the whole course of English religious thought had they fallen to the lot of Newman. But Pusey did not go to Germany as a seeker after truth and certainty, but as a loyal and convinced member of the Anglican communion, desirous to gather some of the fruits of German science, for the defence of the faith of his Church. He studied Oriental languages under Freytag, and became the friend of Ewald. He also took a warm interest in the conflict which was going on between the older Rationalists and the representatives of a more positive and historical Christianity. He thus formed the acquaintance of Schleiermacher, of Hengstenberg, and of Neander, and he became the close personal friend of Tholuck. His residence

in Germany was the occasion of his earliest publication, which was entitled "An Historical Enquiry into the Probable Causes of the Rationalistic character lately predominant in the theology of Germany." Following Tholuck, whose lectures he used with a greater freedom than Tholuck quite liked, he traced the origin of Rationalism to prevalence of dead orthodoxy in the preceding period; he defended the theology of Germany from the extreme strictures of Mr Rose, who had pointed to the Church of Germany as an awful example of a Church whose faith had not been watched over by bishops; maintaining that the condition of German theology was full of hope for the future. The work was translated into German, and was well received in Germany, as a generous and timely word of sympathy from England, but it created at home some doubts as to the author's orthodoxy. Pusey himself lived to regret that he had spoken in such favourable terms of German theology; but there seems to be no grounds for charging him with inconsistency. He gave his sympathy to Tholuck and Hengstenberg, and in part to Schleiermacher, because he recognised their genuine piety, and because he believed they were destined to bring back Germany to the theology of the Creeds, and of the Fathers. This expectation was disappointed; for while the older Rationalism disappeared, and was succeeded by systems more philosophical and historical in spirit, there has been no such return to primitive and Patristic doctrine as Pusey had hoped for.

Soon after his return to Oxford, in 1828, he was appointed, by the Duke of Wellington, Regius Professor of Hebrew. His supposed leanings towards Rationalism created some misgivings, but his explanations were deemed satisfactory, and he was allowed to assume the office without opposition. He applied himself with zeal to the duties of his chair, and undertook the completion of a catalogue of Arabic manuscripts—an onerous task which his predecessor had commenced. Only a sense of duty induced him to persevere in an uncongenial work, which he found so burdensome that he was wont to envy the bricklayer, as he passed through the streets in the morning on his way to the Bodleian. He was, in fact, destitute of the instincts of the scholar pure and simple, who is satisfied to labour to add to the sum of knowledge, and he only took pleasure in scholarly work when he could connect it with practical religious interests. He complained that his labours in the Bodleian shut him out from the theological and religious life of the University, which was fast assuming a new aspect through the influence of Newman and his friends.

Dr Liddon's account of the origin of the Oxford Movement, while it is lucid and interesting, suffers through the author's adoption of a somewhat superficial and conventional philosophy of

religious history. He perceives that it was a section of a much larger movement, that it was the Romantic Movement modified by an Oxford and Anglican environment; he mentions that Pusey often spoke of Sir Walter Scott as a pioneer of the Oxford Movement through the new interest he created in the Middle Ages. Coleridge is also alluded to as contributing to the Tractarian Movement, by making men dissatisfied with the superficiality so common a hundred years ago in religion as in other matters. After such remarks, one would have expected Dr Liddon to have found at all events the human causes of the Movement in the deep needs of the human soul, which could no longer rest satisfied with an eighteenth-century philosophy, and the religion which shared its spirit. Instead of that, he speaks as if men adopted new modes of religious thought in order to save civilisation. "When the flood-gates of human passion had been opened on a gigantic scale in the horrors of war and anarchy, men felt that religion and a clear, strong, positive religious creed was necessary, if civilisation was to be saved from ruin." It is true that rulers in Church and State may have encouraged religion from such motives, but that explains little. A religion or a religious movement may save a civilisation, but men do not become religious in order to save civilisations. It is not correct to say that the earliest and most important manifestations of the Romantic Movement showed any care for a "strong, positive religious creed"; at first it was indifferent to creeds, and only asked for hopes and for emotions. Even the Oxford Movement originated rather in devotional longings for a fuller and more satisfying means of worship, than in a desire for a rigid creed and a strong Church, although in its later phases the latter tendency was developed.

Pusey was busy writing lectures, and with his catalogue of Arabic manuscripts, when, by the publication of the "Tracts for the Times," public attention was called to the Oxford Movement. He was not in the councils of the party, and took no share in the work until a number of the Tracts had been already published; nor was it supposed that he was in sympathy with them. Dr Liddon quotes a passage from the Autobiography of Isaac Williams, which gives an interesting account of the occasion on which he first consented to lend his pen to the Movement, of which, even at the time he did so, he stood somewhat in doubt.

"Pusey's presence always checked Newman's lighter and unrestrained mood; and I was myself silenced by so awful a person. Yet I always found in him something most congenial to myself; a nameless something that was wanting even in Newman, and I might perhaps add even in Keble himself. But Pusey was at this time not one of us, and I have some recollection of a conversation which

was the occasion of his joining us. He said, smiling, to Newman, wrapping his gown round him as he used to do, 'I think you are too hard on the Peculiars, as you call them. You should conciliate them: I am thinking of writing a letter myself with that purpose.' 'Well,' said Newman, 'suppose you let us have it for one of the Tracts!' 'Oh, no,' said Pusey, 'I will not be one of you!' This was said in a playful manner; and before we parted, Newman said, 'Suppose you let us have that letter of yours which you intend writing, and attach your name or signature to it. You would not then be mixed up with us, nor in any way responsible for the Tracts!' 'Well,' Pusey said at last, 'if you will let me do that, I will.' It was this circumstance of Pusey attaching his initials to this tract which furnished the *Record* and the Low-Church party with his name, which they at once attached to us all."

Pusey was, in the first instance, drawn into the Movement because he believed that it would introduce a more self-denying type of Christian character, and give depth and stability to the devotional life of his Church, by the place it gave to the doctrine of the Church and of the Sacraments. His love for the Movement, which deepened into an absorbing passion, converted him into a partisan and controversialist, and notwithstanding his natural gentleness, he was a keen and persistent controversialist. The party he had joined were not satisfied with toleration; they made it their avowed aim to discredit, and, if possible, to silence, all teaching not in accordance with their own. One cannot affect surprise at this; for from the beginning of the history of the Church, it has been the habit of earnest men to stop the mouths of adversaries whenever it was in their power; but it led them into proceedings of high-handed injustice, which are too often defended by Dr Liddon, who might have written of them more in the spirit of an historian. To Mr Golightly and his friends of the *Record*, as much indulgence is shown as was to be expected—possibly as much as they deserved. But the references to the Latitudinarian party betray an animus which was excusable during the height of the controversy, but is now, to say the least, out of place. They are always spoken of as traitors within the camp, conscious or unconscious Socinians; and yet surely if the doctrines of Laud had a right to a place in the Church of England, so had those of Chillingworth and Tillotson. Whately is described as "a man with a bias towards a meagre creed and an easy theory of living, entirely ignorant of any theological literature, and too scornful to make himself acquainted with it." Dr Hampden is said to have been a pupil of Blanco White; in his sluggish mind the new speculative solvent of his master, and his old religious views lay side by side in a grotesque and illogical juxtaposition. On the other hand, full justice is done to the mental

ability and to the profound learning of Blanco White, for whom Dr Liddon had evidently a certain kindness, because he carried the principles of his school to their logical conclusions. Pusey and his friends waged almost incessant warfare with the Latitudinarians. They came into conflict with them on the question of undergraduate subscription to the Articles. Dr Liddon publishes a correspondence between Pusey and Mr Gladstone, which is interesting as showing the incipient Liberalism of the High-Church and Conservative statesman. He concurred with Pusey that the Church of England system of education must be maintained within the University; but he adds that it would give him pleasure to see Dissenters avail themselves to the utmost practicable extent of the Church education of the University, and with his usual hopefulness he suggests that many Dissenters might thus be gained to the Church. Pusey, always distrustful of men, replied that the pupils who came to the University were so ill instructed in the truths of their own religion that they could not, with any regard to their safety, be "mixed up with Baptists, Socinians, or Roman Catholics." To this Mr Gladstone made the characteristic answer—he has often repeated the words in other connections—that if we are to wait until the whole body of Churchmen is in such a state that all will be individually as well as collectively "secure against labefaction," the prospect of relaxing the entrance will have to be indefinitely postponed.

Pusey took an active part in the controversy that arose in 1836 about the appointment of Dr Hampden to the Regius Chair of Divinity. A vigorous attempt was made by means of pamphlets and protests to persuade Lord Melbourne to cancel the appointment; but when these failed—the easy-going Prime Minister could be as firm as a rock when he pleased—the Tractarians and their allies persuaded Convocation to pass a statute which deprived the Regius Professor of Divinity of the right of sitting at the Board of Inquiry into Heretical Doctrines, and at the Board of Nomination of Select Preachers. Had Pusey and his friends been men of the world, they would have perceived that, if they once violated the understanding according to which the Church of England is comprehensive of all parties, and endeavoured to exclude from it the Latitudinarian school, the question would be raised as to the right of the school of Laud to a place within its borders. But to do them justice, they were not men of the world, and cared little for personal consequences. Ten years later came the Nemesis; Pusey was himself summoned before the Board of Inquiry into Heretical Doctrines to answer for a sermon which he had preached before the University, entitled, "The Holy Eucharist a comfort to the penitent." On this occasion the Anti-Roman party triumphed, and Pusey was suspended from his office.

The popular impression that the Tractarians were on the high-road to Rome, although erroneous as regards Pusey himself, had a good deal to justify it; for his language must have often appeared to uninstructed people as identical with that of Roman Catholic divines. The Scriptures were still to him the supreme rule of faith, but he scarcely felt free to expound their meaning except in language borrowed from the Fathers; and he was able to show—somewhat to the discomfiture of his opponents—that almost every sentiment in the condemned sermon was an echo of what had been said by Fathers held in honour by the Church of England. Pusey's study of the Fathers was profound, but devotional rather than critical, and so convinced was he that only in this spirit could they be studied with profit, that he almost declined to recommend books on the Fathers to Dr Arnold when the latter applied for his advice. But while he had become a disciple of the Church of the Fathers, he did not identify it with the modern Church of Rome. That Church had lost a portion of its authority, and of its holiness, first by the secession of the Eastern Church, and secondly by the secession of the Teutonic races in the sixteenth century; the sundered portions of the Catholic Church must wait, therefore, until God united them, content each to regard themselves as divided sections of a great whole. He was nevertheless anxious that the Church of England should learn from the Roman Church. As in his younger days he sought to enrich the intellectual life of his own Church from the treasures of German science, he now sought to make the devotional works of the Roman Church accessible to English readers; but as Newman clearly perceived, it never seemed even to have crossed his thoughts that it was his duty to leave the communion in which he was born. Newman could not remain satisfied with Pusey's attitude of meek expectancy. A theory which deprived the world of a Church that could teach with authority, and left religious truth at the mercy of individual feeling and opinion, appeared to Newman nothing less than disbelief of the promises which Christ had given to His Church. Although probably less learned in the Fathers than Pusey, he applied what he knew in a more critical and logical fashion, and came to the conclusion that the Church of England was not a portion of the Church Catholic. The friends thus came to the parting of the ways.

The story of Newman's defection, often as it has been told, will be read with undiminished interest in Dr Liddon's pages, who gives long extracts from the letters which passed between the friends. They have all the pathos of the last act of a tragedy. When it first became known that Newman was contemplating going over to Rome, some of his friends were exceedingly indignant, and complained that he had betrayed them. Manning became, for a season, boisterously

Protestant. Dr Hook wrote a letter, full of vulgar bigotry, which ought not to have been published by those who had a regard for his memory; in that letter he delivered Newman to perdition in the spirit of a Mediæval Churchman, and almost asserted that salvation is the exclusive privilege of Englishmen, and only of those who are members of the Established Church. Pusey's friendship for Newman had by this time grown into reverence for a Prophet. "The well-being of our Church," he wrote, "seems to me to have been wrapped up in you. I mean in the same way as that of the Church Universal was in Saint Athanasius, or Israel (in its disorders) in one of the Judges." It seemed impossible to doubt that Newman had been rightly guided, and yet he could not follow him. There is little of pleading with Newman in the letters of Pusey, and even less in those of Newman; the latter wrote almost with reluctance, fearing to give pain, with the utmost tenderness and consideration, and never in a polemic spirit. When it became evident that Newman would go, Pusey comforted himself with the thought that his friend had been the subject of a special dispensation of Providence, that God had called him to enter the Church of Rome that he might exercise within it his mighty prophetic gifts, but that his action was not to be regarded as an example by others. The theory is a striking proof of Pusey's reverential love for Newman, and likewise of the slender hold speculative theories about the Church had gained over his practical and eminently unspeculative mind. If Newman was to do good in the Church of Rome let him go; but on that principle might he not with equal right have joined any of the sects if the prospects of his doing good work within them had been equally promising? One cannot feel surprise that Dr Liddon here indicates dissent from the pious opinion of his master.

Readers of Dr Liddon's volumes will differ widely as to Pusey's theology, as to his ecclesiastical theories and his ecclesiastical policy, but there will be one opinion, we imagine, regarding the beauty and the charm of his character. He belonged to a party which was singularly happy in the characters of the men who were its representatives. The charlatan, the self-seeker, and the fussy religionist left it severely alone—warned off by the spirit of self-discipline, of high personal honour, and of meditative piety which marked the leaders. Its inner history contains much to excite admiration, and even envy, in those who have no great respect for its theological views, in which there was a good deal of crude bigotry, only partially redeemed by a glow of pious sentiment. But while often unjust and uncharitable towards opponents, they were full of love and tender loyalty towards those within the charmed circle, which was never therefore disturbed by those jars and personal jealousies which have so often brought discredit upon religious parties. We know nothing

in the whole literature of friendship more tender and winning than the correspondence between Newman and Pusey which appears in Dr Liddon's pages. Pusey's domestic life, of which we learn much from Dr Liddon, was as beautiful as his life of friendship. His wife, whose early death was the great sorrow of his life, was in full sympathy with his views, and especially shared in his admiration for Newman, whom she regarded as her teacher in religion. Although possessed of considerable wealth, they lived in frugal simplicity, that they might give with munificence to the poor and to the various works of the Church.

In creative power and in intellectual originality, the Oxford Movement was inferior to the Romantic Movement in Germany, with which it has been compared; but when one turns to the characters and private lives of the leaders, it is at once felt that the superiority is all on the side of the self-disciplined Englishmen, not with the Schlegels, Schleiermacher, and their friends, whose biographies had better be let alone by the admirers of their writings.

Dr Liddon's volumes carry the narrative down to the year 1846. The work will be completed by the editors, and a promise is given that it will be finished at an early date. The volumes which are to come will not possess the same interest as the present, for the ecclesiastical history of England; but they will afford an opportunity of describing Pusey's work as a spiritual counsellor—a work to which he devoted much time during his later years. The details of that work must necessarily remain untold, but it may be possible, without revealing secrets or wounding susceptibilities, to indicate the tenor of his esoteric teaching, and the sources of his remarkable powers as a spiritual adviser.

JOHN GIBB.

Lehrbuch der Alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte.

*Von Dr Rudolf Smend, Prof. an der Universität Göttingen.
Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. London and Edinburgh:
Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xix. 550. Price, M. 12.*

PROFESSOR SMEND'S work on the Religion of Israel has been looked for with many expectations. He had already done such excellent work in his Commentary on Ezekiel, and in many essays on points in the religion of Israel, that much was hoped from his newest and most important undertaking. On the whole, he has not disappointed the expectations which were formed. He has not produced, indeed, a brilliant book. It is hard reading and without grace of style; but it is full of matter, and whoever will go through it will be instructed in many ways. Smend's position is that of Wellhausen—we

use the comparison merely because it is brief and will be understood ; if it differs it is in being somewhat pushed forward. This position is not merely what might be named a critical one, a position in regard to the literature of the Pentateuch and other parts of the Old Testament. In addition to being this it is two other things. In the course of the past critical investigations, and as the result of them, a general conception has been formed regarding the movement of religious thought in Israel and the progress of ideas, a general theory of the religious history. But this again naturally must react upon the text and descend to the lower or textual criticism, because many passages are found, some even in very early books such as Hosea, which do not accommodate themselves to the theory or to some part of it, and have to be dealt with. In all these three divisions, Smend may be said to occupy the most advanced position, or, at least, not to stand behind any person of consideration. Apart, therefore, from the question whether his opinions be true, it is instructive to learn what they are, and to have from him a systematic construction of the religious history of Israel upon the basis of them. The object of the present notice is to give some account of the author's excellent work rather than enter upon controversy, but we cannot help thinking that a number of views are advanced which will require reconsideration, and that many passages are excised from the text for no reason but that they conflict with a theory, while the balance of probability has not yet been shown to be in favour of the theory. To take a single instance. There may be some things in the last verses of Amos which raise the question whether they have remained altogether in their original form ; but the interpretation which the author (after Wellhausen) puts upon the words, "The eyes of the Lord are upon the sinful kingdom and I will destroy it from off the face of the earth ; saving that I will not destroy the house of Jacob" (v. 8), is anything but natural. He finds an antithesis here between the "sinful kingdom" (that is Israel) and Judah, and considers the passage a Judean interpolation. But where is there the faintest reference to Judah ? The antithesis which naturally suggests itself is one between the present form of the House of Jacob—the sinful kingdom (*cf.* Is. x. 6)—and the House of Jacob in itself, the family brought up out of Egypt (iii. 1), an antithesis found in all the prophets, who announce destruction to the one, but salvation eventually for the other. Smend, indeed, goes so far as to say that the prophet's words, "The virgin of Israel is fallen, she shall no more rise" (v. 2), imply that he had no hope of a final restoration. This would be to make Amos a monstrosity among the prophets.

Of the two things, history and religious belief, contained in the term *Religionsgeschichte*, the author throws most weight upon the

history, upon the historical causes of the belief, and the historical movements which led to changes, modifications and advancement in it. He repudiates, if not reprobates, all theological headings or titles, making it his endeavour to weave the religious opinions and aspirations of the various periods into a connected and progressive historical narration. The heaviness of the book is largely due to this method. The author disdains to help the reader even by division of his chapters into sections. He has, however, provided an extremely full analysis in the table of contents, and the reader would do well to keep this always before him.

Smend divides the history into three great sections—the pre-prophetic, the prophetic, and the law. There is no division which does not disrupt things related and combine things dissimilar. By fixing the limit of the first period at 800 or 750 B.C., he throws into the pre-prophetic age the oldest writer of the Pentateuch, who certainly, if any one, deserves to be called prophetic. Smend, however, regards the *note* of the prophets to be their breach with the people and the state, and their conviction of its approaching downfall. He regards this conviction as a mystery which neither the prophets' feeling of the sin of the people nor their idea of the might of Assyria, nor both together, are adequate to explain. He acknowledges, however, that the position of Elijah a hundred years earlier did not differ materially from that of Amos and his followers; and when we go back as far as Ahijah of Shilo, and consider his relation to the house of David, we may conclude that the prophetic principles were, from the beginning, the same. It was the nature of the kingdom of God, its righteousness and piety, not its form, which appeared of value to them. Indeed, as Smend rightly concedes, the drift of the prophetic views and teaching was always in the direction of depreciating the external framework of the State, and conceiving it as a religious community; and though even the latest of the prophets are unable to conceive a people of God which is not in a sense still a nation with a land of its own, the nation appears to them a thing purely religious, something with which Jehovah will glorify himself, and whose calling is to bring forth judgment to the nations. By making the *differentia* of the prophets to be their breach with the existing State, the author gains a telling point for the post-prophetic or legal age. It was this threat of destruction which laid most hold of the people, particularly when they saw it verified, and led them to accept the prophetic judgment regarding themselves and their past history—in a word, revolutionized the popular mind, and made them adherents of the prophetic faith. This is not quite new, and it may not be without some exaggeration, but it can hardly be doubted that it was the people's disastrous history that impressed them with the sense of sin, and not, as the old theory was, the ceremonies of the law.

The commencement of the Legal period is fixed by Smend at the promulgation or the royal sanction by Josiah of Deuteronomy as the religious law of the people's life. Here, again, of course, such a prophet as the author of the second half of Isaiah is thrown into the legal age, and even the greater part of Jeremiah's career falls within it. But incongruities of this sort can hardly be avoided if divisions be adopted at all.

In the pre-prophetic period the author discusses these three general points :—1. How Jehovah approved himself as Lord and helper of Israel through the leaders of the people, judges, kings, priests, and prophets. 2. How the relation of Jehovah and the people reflected itself in the people's consciousness—their faith as to Jehovah their God. And 3. How Israel, as the people of the Lord, lived in worship and morals. It need not be said that Smend regards much in this period as legendary, and instead of following the Old Testament representation regarding the Patriarchs and the early religious condition of Israel, he prefers to construct an idea of what they were in morals and religion from an investigation into the condition of the surrounding peoples to whom they were allied. The materials for such an investigation are too scanty to yield any certain results, and the assumption that at the period of the Exodus, or before it, Israel and these peoples stood altogether on the same plane, is a precarious one to make. While the creative genius and influence of Moses cannot be conceived too highly, his very greatness makes it not unlikely that some Hebrews before his day had glimpses of that which he saw face to face. The prophets drew on Moses and the past, and it is not just at once to be assumed that Moses had absolutely no past to draw upon. Neither does it quite dispose of Abraham and Hebrew tradition regarding him to affirm that he is merely an idealized type of Israel, a glorified presentment of Israel's conception of itself and of its place in the world. To idealize and to create are two things. David and Solomon are idealized, but both existed. A mythological genius does not appear to have been a characteristic of the Hebrew people. Smend, however, strongly affirms the historical worth of the main incidents of the Exodus and the life of Moses; he thinks, indeed, that if they had not been recorded in history, we should have had to postulate them to account for Israel as we find it even in its early times. The mystery of the name Jehovah and the revelation to Moses still, after all the author's researches, remains a mystery. The theory of some authors that Jehovah was the name of the God of Jethro, and that Moses borrowed it from there, is contradicted by all Hebrew tradition. The change in the mind of Moses, the new consciousness of the divine that inspired him, and his resolution to free his people and found a kingdom of God, remain inexplicable. There is an old ex-

planation, which for awhile has been almost forgotten; perhaps men will return to it.

Turning to the Prophets, the author's method changes. Former leaders of action and thought, judges, kings, and priests, could be dealt with under general categories—each person was but the type of a class. But every prophet is unique, and represents only himself. Naturally, after such works as that of Robertson Smith upon the prophets, there was not much altogether new left the author to say; nevertheless, his chapters on Amos and his followers will well repay perusal. Fresh things are said, and some things that not long ago were held fresh are criticised and denied. The great idea of Hosea of the marriage relation between Jehovah and his people is denied to be due to ways of thought current in heathendom, or among the native races. This return to sanity is thankworthy; it is to be hoped that the day of the mythologists is nearly over. Further, the author puts in a protest against the "love" to Jehovah demanded by Hosea and Jeremiah and Deuteronomy being regarded as nothing profounder than mere avoidance of idolatry and laying hold of the covenant of Israel—this love is the essential meaning of religion. Perhaps it is because Jeremiah has been less written upon than other prophets that it so strikes us; but at any rate the author's chapter on this prophet appears very instructive and attractive. His estimate of Ezekiel, too, has gained, we venture to think, in temperance, and insight, and truth since he wrote his commentary.

The third part of the author's work, that which he calls Judaism, will probably awaken most interest. He is here at his best, and nothing better or so good on this period has appeared. He begins this period, as has been said, with Josiah's imposition of Deuteronomy as the *Law* of the people's life; and, for purposes of Old Testament religion, he fixes its lower limit at the Maccabean crisis, which in his view separates the older Judaism from the newer. The former had still very much of the spirit and thought of the prophets in it, while after the Maccabees the legal spirit acquired predominance. This view will, no doubt, be subjected to question. But of more importance is the author's judgment regarding the ritual Law and its meaning, and the condition of religion in the ages after the return. And we cannot help thinking that his judgment on the ritual system, as it has its place in Ezekiel's scheme of thought, and as fully codified by others, is more just than that of some other writers, even of Schultz. The ritual Law, he tells us, was, in the main, morality. Further, he remarks that the place assigned to it was not altogether the result of reflection. These are things worth hearing. Of course there was reflection. There was an ideal to be attained or preserved, and the means to it must have been reflected

on. But the ideal and the means to it are not to be confounded. The ideal was Monotheism and Morality, the Law was but the way to it. And it cannot be doubted that the ideal was for long the thing thought of importance, and that it was not for many ages (if ever) that the means became something like an end. But even the adaptation of the means to the end was not altogether a thing of reflection. There was an instinct, a spirit, operating unconsciously, and laying hold of the means it used with equal instinctiveness. The spirit operating in those who codified the ritual Law and laid it at the basis of the new Constitution and the new Israel, was the same spirit that operated in the prophets and in Moses, the spirit of the religion of Israel, an inner inspiration which, throughout all the ages of Israel's life and history, however varied they were, threw up always upon the web of the people's life as it was woven the same two flowers of Monotheism and Morality. And whatever we may think of the form, these two things, as expressed or conserved in the Law, were, if possible, purer than they were when expressed in the prophetic idealism. The problems connected with this period of Israel's religious history are not yet fully solved. But supposing the Law became the basis of the new Constitution at the Restoration or after it, it is hard to see why it should be less divine at this period than it would have been if made the basis of the Constitution by Moses.

In the last years of Judah, in the Exile and at the return, Israel's religion had attained its full stature. The Enthusiast of *Is. xl. seq.* is its truest exponent. Its God was God alone, and all that He is who is God alone. The world and the nations were but His instruments. Israel had within it the cause of Jehovah; it was this that gave it significance (*Is. l. 4 seq., li.*). It possessed His revelation, which would accomplish that whereto He sent it. But with all this Israel was oppressed—subject to the heathen world. This is the problem, the efforts to solve which constitute the profoundest parts of the Old Testament. To begin with, Israel's sufferings were brought into connection with its sin, and the author of *Is. xl. seq.*, standing, as he conceived it, at the end of Israel's history and in front of the one act of it yet to be performed, the restoration to eternal felicity and righteousness, read the history to mean that the sufferings of the ideal being Israel all through history had atoned for the sins of the actual Israel. But later, when the oppression continued, and when Israel, conscious of knowing the truth of the true God, contrasted itself with the heathen nations who trod it down, the problem returned in all its complexity. In one aspect of it, it became a problem about the ways of God, about God Himself. There was no longer, if there had ever been, any question of His power over all forces of whatever kind, but He remained inactive,

caring nothing for His self-vindication—the earth is given into the hands of the wicked, He covereth the face of the judges thereof: if not He, who then is it? The problem, in this aspect of it, inspires the author of Job. Smend, indeed, considers the problem in Job to be entirely an individual one, but this seems as one-sided as when, on the other hand, he regards the Psalter as altogether the expression of national feelings. Of course, Jehovah, known to the nations only as God of Israel, though known to Israel as God alone, could vindicate Himself and His religion only by vindicating Israel; and the passionate demands of this age, from Ezekiel downwards, for the redemption of His people are inspired less by a national than a purely religious interest, by zeal for the true God and the true faith. The vindication of Israel and its faith is called in this age Israel's justification—He is near that will justify me (Is. l. 4); and this justification could be verified to the eyes of men and the heart of the people in no way except by Israel's restoration to freedom and prosperity. This was the outside of justification, the heart of it was the bestowal upon men of actual righteousness of mind.

But the subjection and misery continued age after age, and it could not but lead to another thing. From seeking the cause of their afflictions in God, and speculating on His nature, they turned their eyes upon themselves to seek the cause of their sorrows there. They were due to their sin. The fatal continuity with the past had never been truly broken—we and our fathers have sinned. How deep the sense of sin was in those ages may be felt in the prayers of Nehemiah and Daniel, and in much of the Psalter. The community had no refuge but hope. The individual, however, was probably able in many cases to break through into light. His faith was a self-verifying thing, his consciousness was stronger evidence than the contrary testimony of the afflictions into which He was plunged. So it is represented in Job, and such is the surprising exclamation of the Psalmist, Nevertheless I am continually with thee!

The above are some of the points which Smend enlarges upon in his chapters entitled "God's Victory over the World," "The Justification of the Community over against the World," "The sin of the Community and Forgiveness," "Wrath and Grace," &c. Though the author endeavours to weave the religious opinions of the various ages into a narrative, he gives in the form of notes or otherwise a number of excursions on individual points. One of the best of these is his discussion of "righteousness."

A. B. DAVIDSON.

The Mummy : Chapters on Egyptian Funeral Archæology.

By E. A. Wallis Budge, Litt.D. Cambridge : University Press. Pp. 404. Price 12s. 6d.

AT the request of the Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Dr Wallis Budge undertook the preparation of a catalogue of the Egyptian Antiquities in that collection ; and while so engaged, it was suggested to him that the utility of his catalogue would be increased if a short account of the general nature of the objects in the collection were given in the form of a prefatory chapter. Acting on this suggestion, Dr Budge put together the material of this work ; and the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press, wisely thinking that this portion might be useful to many to whom the catalogue itself would be of little value, proposed and ultimately carried out the separate publication of this part as an independent work.

The circumstances under which this compilation was made explain the somewhat discontinuous nature of the contents. It begins with a short, but excellent preliminary account of the Egyptian race and country, which is followed by a brief *résumé* of their history, brought down to the present date.

In accordance with the weight of anthropological evidence, Dr Budge considers the typical Egyptian as a primitive offshoot of that hypothetical Western Asiatic stem which, according to the nomenclature of Blumenbach, is usually called "Caucasian." That these were not the earliest colonists is certain, as relics of at least one older race have been found, and the observations of Professor Petrie on the twofold disposal of the dead at Medûm, seem to indicate that a duality of race existed at that early date.

In later times there is evidence of the introduction of other strains into the population, derived from intermixture with Semitic and Canaanite races, and with the tribes of the Mediterranean and the Sûdân.

The author also follows Bunsen in the belief that the Egyptian language is descended from a pre-historic, proto-Semitic source, and in this he has the concurrence of the highest authorities on the subject, such as Lagarde, Erman and the late Professor Wright.

As an introduction to the archæology of the Egyptian language, the author has given at considerable length the history of the decipherment of the Rosetta stone. It has been usual in this country to depreciate the work done by the distinguished English scholar, Thomas Young, and to call the coupling of his name with that of Champollion "a gross error." After giving a carefully-digested statement of the facts of the case, Dr Budge has put in parallel columns the critical opinions of eminent men on the subject.

On the one side are those who testify to the priority of Young's work, and on the other those who bear witness as to the greater value of the results obtained by Champollion. The evidence so well marshalled clearly shows that Dr Young is entitled to the credit of having been the earlier in making the discovery of the phonetic nature of the signs, and that Champollion had in his hand the record of Young's work, which he probably used. On the other hand, Champollion's final work was so far in advance of that of Young that, except in the matter of priority, the former certainly must be considered as the first great expositor of the Egyptian language.

The remaining sections of the book are descriptive of Egyptian funeral observances, and of the material accessories of these rites. As the Egyptian antiquities commonly met with in museums are objects which belong to the latter category, the work is well fitted to serve as an explanatory guide to any collection of Egyptian relics. The author confines himself to description, and rarely touches on the comparative side of the religious ideas underlying the ceremonial, the aspect of the subject which is of the deepest interest to the student of Comparative Religion.

The religion of Egypt is the earliest cultus of which we have contemporary records; and with the increasing knowledge of the language, the ability to understand its various phases is daily growing. In the formulæ embodied in the texts inscribed in the pyramid tombs of Unas, Teta, Pepi, and other rulers of the fifth and sixth dynasties, we have the expressions of these religious ideas as they existed in the old empire five thousand years ago.

Of the later embodiment of the cultus in the "Book of the Dead," many copies are extant; but in spite of the great progress which has been made within recent years in the knowledge of the Egyptian language, we have not yet reached the stage at which we can with certainty set forth a standard text, still less a critical translation. We are still in the condition in which it is necessary to work at the collection of variants, and to acquire additional grammatical knowledge, before we can take definite steps towards these desirable ends. The edition of variants, compiled by Naville, is an excellent contribution in that direction, and the recent ingenious version given by Mr Renouf, in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology, although greatly in advance of any previous translation, only demonstrates how far we are yet from the attainment of this desirable consummation. There are still many lacunæ in our knowledge which must be filled before we can attain to the requisite standard of precision in our lexicography. We need a more critical knowledge of the phonetic and grammatical changes which have taken place in the course of ages. Such

knowledge must be sought, in the first instance in the historical and secular texts; for the "Book of the Dead" is about the last text which can be profitably studied, on account of its obscurity, its archaisms, the numerous allusions to unknown points in mythology, and the corruptness of so many of our copies. We are, however, on the high road to an adequate knowledge of the contents of this work, which is of surpassing interest as it embodies the oldest religious thoughts accessible to us.

One great hindrance in the way of a proper appreciation of the Egyptian mythology with its doctrine of immortality, of a future state of rewards, of the identification of the dead with the murdered and revived Osiris, has been the danger of reading into it modern ideas derived from Christian and Western philosophical sources. Dr Budge keeps himself free from this, as he confines himself chiefly to descriptions of the personalities of the Pantheon; for, as the limits of his work preclude a critical study of the Egyptian Theogony, he contents himself with adopting the solar theory in its rather crude form, as expounded in Renouf's Hibbert Lectures, and in Pierret's *Pantheon*. In this exposition he has brought his descriptions up to the latest information. We note, for instance, that he follows Renouf in enumerating *Apuat* as a divinity separate from Anubis. It is, perhaps, premature to decide how far this is justifiable, as the texts quoted by Renouf only show that *Apuat* was identified with Osiris, and are scarcely sufficient to prove that he had necessarily a separate personality. There is material, in the numerous texts at present known referring to the gods, for a more exhaustive critical study of their mutual relations than has been as yet made, a study in which the various factors of time and place should be taken into account; but such would have been outside the scope of Dr Budge's introduction.

The short account of the Egyptian tombs of the several periods is clearly and concisely given, and well illustrated. Dr Budge appends a list of the commoner hieroglyphs, with their phonetic values. This is much the best list which has been hitherto given in any English book, but it is one we should like to see extended and classified. If some Egyptologist of experience were to compile, for the sake of students beginning the study of the language, a list of this nature containing the radical and stem words systematically arranged, it would be of great value, and would save much time and labour in their earlier essays in translating; as the vocabularies of Birch and Pierret, and the Dictionaries of Brugsch and Lanzzone, although invaluable to students as repertories of texts, are not well arranged, and are even now behind the level of our latest knowledge.

There are a few trifling omissions to be noted; for example, there

is no description of the hypocephali of which so many were described some years ago by Dr Birch. The typography of the work is good and clear, and typographical errors are few; the name Rouelle is spelled Ronelle on p. 189, and on p. 128 the date of Young's appointment as Foreign Secretary of the Royal Society should be 1804 (see Weld, p. 237); but considering the difficulties of correcting the proofs of a work containing so many foreign words, it is singularly well printed. We note that Dr Budge adheres to the old etymology of Pharaoh as *Perāa* or "Great House," and has not adopted Mr Renouf's view that it is a purely Semitic word, derived from the same root as the word for the leaders in the Song of Deborah (Judges v. 2, *cf.* Fürst *Lex.*, p. 1155).

It is to be regretted that in this country, whose museums contain such a wealth of Egyptian inscriptions, there has not hitherto been developed a school of Egyptology. We may, however, hope that better days are dawning, and that the foundation of the Chair of that subject in University College, London, by the munificent benefaction of the late Miss Edwards, will be followed by similar foundations in our other Universities. There is a great work yet to be done, which can only be accomplished by the systematic labour of those who give their whole attention to the subject. In the meantime, for those who wish to gain a general notion of the meaning of the Egyptian relics in our museums, we can with confidence commend Dr Budge's book as an accurate, concise, and interesting introductory manual.

ALEXANDER MACALISTER.

The Skeptics of the Italian Renaissance.

*By John Owen. Second Edition. Pp. xvii. 419, and xxxvi.
London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Price 10s. 6d.*

MR OWEN uses the term "skeptic" in its wider sense to include all those who are animated by the spirit of free inquiry—all who refuse to accept any authority or dogma as unquestionably final. He chooses the Renaissance for his subject because in that period the mind of Christendom shook off the doctrine of absolute paternal authority in Church and State, which held almost undisputed sway during the Middle Ages. Many influences contributed to the work of emancipation. Commerce and the crusades brought the Christianity of Europe into contact with the East; the purity of Mohammedan religion, at its best, gave a new life to the truths buried out of sight under ritual and dogma; Arab science helped to secularise the literature and the schools of the West. Again, the revival of classical learning brought men into contact with Greek

philosophy and Roman law, and thus enabled them to examine for themselves the foundations of the authority which they were required to obey. On all these points Mr Owen has much curious and useful information to impart. He has thought fit to arrange his book in the form of a series of papers, which are read by an imaginary Dr Trevor to a coterie of friends, most of whom seem to be almost as well up in the history of Italian literature as the Doctor himself. We are disposed to think that the book would be more attractive without the dialogues which precede and follow the author's more systematic exposition of his subject. Here and there Mr Owen seems to be carried a little too far in his desire to prove that received authorities are open to criticism. He tells us, for example, that the Koran has done less harm to science than the Bible "in the hands of misinterpreters and fanatics." This may be true, but it would only be fair to point out that the Koran, "in the hands of misinterpreters and fanatics," has quenched the light of Arab philosophy, and reduced the schools of the Mohammedan world to futility.

What Mr Owen has to say of the Italian Renaissance in particular he has thrown into the form of biographical essays on Dante, Petrarca, Boccaccio, Luigi Pulci, Machiavelli, Guicciardini, and Pomponazzi. He does not, of course, claim Dante as a skeptic; but the great Florentine is one of the spiritual fathers of the Renaissance, by virtue of the freedom with which he tested the authorities of his time, and found them wanting. The essay on Pomponazzi is especially valuable; it gives a full and sympathetic account of an interesting, but little known, personality. The concluding chapters of Mr Owen's book are devoted to Giordano Bruno, and Vanini. In these, as in the previous chapters, we find ample evidence that the author has read widely, and thought out his conclusions carefully. Without being able to subscribe to all his judgments, we receive them all with the respect that is due to learning and sagacity. The excellence of the Indices deserves a word of gratitude and praise.

T. RALEIGH.

Siebeck's Philosophy of Religion.

Lehrbuch der Religionsphilosophie. Von Dr Hermann Siebeck, Professor der Philosophie in Giessen. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1893. [Sammlung Theologischer Lehrbücher.] London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xiv. 456. Price 10s.

SEVERAL causes have co-operated to throw stress, of late, upon the Philosophy of Religion, such causes, for instance, as the Positive and Agnostic movements in philosophical, and the Ritschlian movement

in theological thought. The comparative study of religions, too, which has followed upon the better means of communication of this century, has of course necessitated examination into the Philosophy of Religion. Thus the various border questions between Theology and Philosophy have been forced into unusual prominence. For the moment, indeed, it is with the Philosophy of Religion that the future lies of much in Apologetics and Dogmatics.

To this redoubled, if we may not say revived, interest, such American books testify as Harris's *Philosophical Basis of Theism*, and Kellogg's *Genesis and Growth of Religion*; and such English books as Max Müller's and Stirling's *Gifford Lectures*, John Caird's *Philosophy of Religion* and Edward Caird's *Evolution of Religion*, Boyd Carpenter's *Permanent Elements in Religion*, Martineau's *Study of Religion*, and Knight's *Aspects of Theism*; and such German books as the well-known philosophical writings of Lotze, Pfeiderer, and Von Hartmann; as the doctrinal systems of Lipsius, Biedermann, and Dorner; and such special contributions as Teichmüller's *Religionsphilosophie*, Rawenhoff's *Religionsphilosophie*, Gloatz's *Spekulative Theologie in Verbindung mit der Religionsgeschichte*, Bender's *Das Wesen der Religion*, Kaftan's *Das Wesen der christlichen Religion* and his *Glaube und Dogma*, Max Reischle's *Die Frage nach dem Wesen der Religion, Grundlegung zu einer Methodologie der Religionsphilosophie*, Seydel's *Religionsphilosophie*, and this book of Siebeck's.

The main contents of Siebeck's book have resulted, the author says, from studies and reflections occasioned by lectures on the subject at Bâle and Giessen. In this origin, probably, lie at once the strength and the weakness of the treatment. The strength is its clearness, its consecution and climax, its constant thought for the unskilled reader. The weakness is its dogmatic method, its frequent superficiality, its surrender of thoroughness to interest, its sacrifice of carefully founded and reasoned treatment to the immediate needs of the class-room. As a text-book, too, we have here only a guide to Siebeck's own views, and by no means a guide to the great subject of which it treats, its history and development and present state.

The "Philosophy of Religion" is a term which has stood for one of two things, for theology treated philosophically or for the systematic psychology of the religious sense. Thus Pünjer, in his *History of the Christian Philosophy of Religion*, expressly defined his task as the rational consideration of religious thought throughout the Christian centuries, and therefore, with perfect consistency, Pünjer commenced his history with the Apologists of the Early Church, passing on through the Middle Ages and the Reformation to the history of Deism and of the early German Rationalists. But this is not the

more common use of the term to-day. Usually by the Philosophy of Religion is meant the philosophical study of the religious consciousness, the systematic psychology of religion, or, as Pflaederer once expressed it, "a science of the nature and development of the human consciousness of God." According to such a definition, the history of the Philosophy of Religion begins where Pünjer's history ends, viz., with Kant. This Pünjer himself saw, for he said that "if his history were to confine itself to an exposition of the complete systems of the Philosophy of Religion, it could hardly begin with anything before Hegel's *Philosophy of Religion* or Kant's *Religion within the Limits of Mere Reason*."

It is this latter view which Siebeck holds. Alas! in the treatment of his subject he adopts a method which is really suicidal. He states his aim to be the treatment and criticism of the substance of the religious consciousness, but wholly independently of any definite metaphysic, or even of any theory of knowledge. In plain speech, Siebeck proposes to give a Philosophy of Religion without a philosophy. Although swerving very vitally from the Ritschlian standpoint, he has imbibed the Ritschlian horror of metaphysics. By such a treatment, Siebeck makes it impossible for him to give us a Philosophy of Religion; all he is able to do, under such conditions, deliberately adopted, is to give some minor contributions towards a Philosophy of Religion.

According to Siebeck, then, the Philosophy of Religion is the same thing as an examination, apart from any doctrine of cognition, of the nature and proof of the religious life. Consequently, he divides his book into two parts, the first of which deals with the Nature, the Nature and Development, of the Religious Consciousness, and the second of which deals with the Truth of Religion.

The first part, again, which expounds religion as a fact, has three subdivisions. In the first, a place is claimed for religion side by side with language and manners, law and morals, family and state, school and education, science and practice; the office of religion being at once to affirm and to negative the importance of the mundane. Religion, indeed, which emphasizes the supra-mundane, is contrasted with civilization, which emphasizes the mundane. But, continues Siebeck, the Philosophy of Religion belongs to that branch of the philosophic disciplines which considers the spiritual life and work of man, not only in the abstract, but in the concrete—in different forms and developments, that is to say. It asks, for instance, what roots religion has in human nature? How is its development to be understood? Wherein lies its importance? What is its justification? Therefore, in the second subdivision, Siebeck gives a glance over the entire sphere of religions, to see whether and how far there has been an actual

development. And, in his view, there has been a very definite historical development, commencing with the stage of myth, passing on to and through the moral stage to the stage of redemption. And, he says, this development is due to the reciprocal action of two fundamental ideas, viz., that of the existence of God or gods, and that of the consciousness of misery in its two forms of physical and moral evil. In the third subdivision, Siebeck examines the function and characteristics of religion still as a fact, and quite apart from its truth. Here he makes many acute remarks concerning religion in its relation to myth, morals, dogma, and worship, in a series of interesting chapters on Faith, on Faith and Knowledge, on Religion and Morals, on Myth and Doctrine, on Cult and Church, on Forms of the Religious Life, on Mysticism, on Orthodoxy, on Asceticism, on Pietism, and on Rationalism.

From the Nature of the Religious Life, Siebeck passes, in his second part, to its Proof. Religion is proved to be sanity and not madness, reality and not illusion, by a careful study of its normality. In any stage of development religion is, he argues, a normal constituent of human nature ; whereas, at the highest stage of development, religion accredits itself as normal, inasmuch as it announces a redemption,—upon entrance into the Kingdom of God,—by means of an historical revelation. In illustration of this position Siebeck examines in successive chapters the ideas of the Universe, God, Final Cause, Freedom, The Destiny of Man, and Theodicy. An able summary and a good index bring the whole to a conclusion.

From this outline the richness of the contents may be judged. A Textbook of the Philosophy of Religion the book is not. It is a series of interesting essays upon subjects within the range of the Philosophy of Religion.

ALFRED CAVE.

Das Heiligkeits-Gesetz—Leviticus xvii.-xxvi.

Eine historisch-kritische Untersuchung. Von Bruno Baentsch, Lic. theol. Dr. philos. Erfurt, 1893. 8vo, pp. vii. 152. Price, M. 4.

THE Book of Leviticus, as is well known, contains a group of chapters (xvii.-xxvi.) which are distinguished by certain peculiarities of thought and diction, and which in recent years have usually been known as "The Law of Holiness" (*das Heiligkeitsgesetz*). Modern critics are fairly well agreed in thinking that the chapters in question once formed a separate book, which was afterwards incorporated with the Priestly Code, one of the main sources of the present Pentateuch and Book of Joshua. But whether the Law of Holiness

was itself the work of one author or of several, at what date it was composed, and how far it was subsequently altered by the redactor of the Priestly Code—these are questions about which there is much difference of opinion. In the elaborate work before us, Dr Baentsch has endeavoured to throw light upon the subject by a very minute examination of the Hebrew text. Parallel passages from other parts of the Old Testament have been carefully collected for the purpose of shewing the relation in which the Law of Holiness stands to other writings, in particular to Deuteronomy and the Book of Ezekiel. Dr Baentsch does not profess to have made any startling discoveries, but he thinks that he has succeeded in establishing the following points: (1) the Law of Holiness is the work of several distinct authors; (2) the earlier part of it was composed shortly before Ezekiel, and was largely used by that prophet; (3) the latter part of it is dependent upon Ezekiel.

A. A. BEVAN.

Die Evangelische Geschichte, und der Ursprung des Christenthums.

Von Dr W. Brandt. Leipzig: P. K. Reisland. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1893. 8vo, pp. xii. 591. Price, M. 11.

THIS is a destructive desolating critical work by a clever German scholar, who, examining the historical foundations of Christianity in a "scientific" spirit, comes to the conclusion that there is extremely little solid ground to stand on. He tells us in his preface that he can afford to be quite impartial, because his religion is entirely independent of the uncertainties and probabilities or improbabilities of historical investigation. "The evangelic history has charmed and edified me from of old, as I read it in the Bible, as the beautiful traits of the fourfold narrative range themselves beside each other in my phantasy, and stir in my soul earnest, now elevating now humbling, thoughts. In these words is expressed my *religious* interest therein. And it will continue to charm and edify me so long as it remains as it is, and my spirit reacts in response to noble ideas." This is a new presentation of Christianity independent of history. It is a phenomenon with which British piety in its present phases makes us familiar, and the patrons and promoters of this subjective Christianity sufficient to itself might do well to get this work and learn from it what the tendency which holds them under its spell comes to.

Dr Brandt thinks that of the real history of Jesus very little is known. From this sweeping statement the words of Jesus are, in

his opinion, no exception. "In general, as it seems to me, the modern theologians of Germany arrive far too easily at conclusions in favour of genuineness." This is levelled at such men as Wendt, though no one is named.

The critical examination of the Gospel History is confined to the death and resurrection of Jesus. The author regards the critical examination of what goes before as, after Strauss, superfluous; whence we infer that he accepts in the bulk the arguments and conclusions of the famous *Leben Jesu*. The analytical or critical portion of the work before us is broken up into three divisions; the first having for its rubric, CAPTIVE AND TRIED; the second, CRUCIFIED AND DEAD; the third, BURIED AND RISEN. It is not worth while to go into detail as to the conclusions arrived at on the numerous particulars included under each of these heads. The general verdict is: a few grains of fact, and a vast accumulation of fiction owing its origin to the Christian faith and Church policy of after days.

The fourth part of the work, forming less than a fourth part of the volume, may be said to be constructive. Its general heading is JESUS AND THE EVANGELIC HISTORY OF JESUS, and its aim, in the words of the author, is to show "how in the origin of Christianity, as its main factor, out of the history of Jesus, the evangelic *Heilandsbild* has been evolved." The materials for building are very scanty. The known, or probable at least, is that Jesus was a teacher of prophetic spirit, remarkable for His sympathetic love, who by His whole bearing gave umbrage to the religious people of Judea, and so met the cruel fate of crucifixion. The thought that He *might* be the Messiah crossed His mind, but He never arrived at a confident conclusion on the point. Of course He never rose from the dead. But the belief in the resurrection somehow got hold of the minds of His disciples. How? That is the question. Our author feels the difficulty of the problem, but he has the courage, in spite of past failures, to try his hand at a new "Hypothese." This "Hypothese" fills nine pages, but it is summarised in a paragraph thus: "Through the unhappy fate of Jesus the Messianic hopes set on Him were shattered, and His disciples were constrained to admit that the Jerusalem adventure had not been according to God's will. But they continued to believe that their Master, in spite of this mistake and unconscious resistance to God's will, had been a pious, good teacher. One might say: they had to give up the Stormer of Jerusalem, but for the noble friendly Galilean Teacher they still kept a place in their hearts. Those of them who had devoted themselves to the teaching profession [perhaps Peter and John] were, by their occupation with the study of the Hebrew Scriptures, and by the old surroundings [in Galilee], constantly reminded of Him. The two Psalm-texts in which the delivery of the pious man

from death, and the elevation of the Messiah to the right hand of God, seemed to be the theme [Ps. lxxxvi. 12, 13 ; Ps. cx. 1], awoke in them the thought that Jesus might have risen from the grave, and been taken up into Heaven. This thought revived old hopes ; dead wishes and expectations lived again, and kindled the enthusiasm in which Simon Peter came to see his Lord in heavenly glory." Of course when one had seen it was easy for others to see. Thus is the faith in the resurrection explained almost as easily as it had been by Renan. Our author has a great admiration for Renan. Well he may : the two are kindred spirits, though of unequal genius. Dr Brandt puts the difference between himself and Renan thus : " Renan, the genial psychological historian, thought he could explain all by the principle of love, and said outright ' Love has raised Jesus from the dead.' We might say : Love watched over the dead, till hope came and raised Him again."

Dr Brandt favours us with his views on the origin of our canonical Gospels. He recognises two original sources : one containing a very scanty supply of facts or incidents, probably having Peter for voucher, the other containing an equally scanty supply of sayings. On these two as a basis " Mark " constructed a Gospel, in which many things must be held to be the product of free invention. The author regards the use of the *Logia* by Mark as only probable ; he may have had another collection. A generation after he wrote, Matthew and Luke were written, in which we can distinguish three elements : Mark's Gospel, the collection of sayings (= the *Logia*) and newly-invented matter. Invention thus played a prominent part in all three. The motives to invention were various. First the wish to furnish proofs for the Gospel. Hence the resurrection legend. Next the desire to break with the Jews and ingratiate Christians with the rulers of Rome. Hence the turn given to the story of the passion at many points, *e.g.*, in the scene, " Jesus before Pilate." Internal Church politics also supplied an impulse to invention : the wish to run up episcopal authority to the twelve apostles accounts for a good deal ; also the desire to find in the teaching and action of Christ a sanction for sacraments and Church discipline. In the case of Luke the desire to read Paul into the story of Jesus was a predominant motive. Of course " John " was a chartered libertine who took " sovereign " liberties with the tradition, with the aim of making the history of Jesus correspond to ideal eternal truth.

The concluding survey (*Schlussbetrachtung*), covering two final pages, is characteristic. The evangelic history, we are told, has not been unjust to the historic Jesus. " The synoptical Christ-picture is the highest blossom of religious poesy. The belief in the Gods

has fulfilled its mission in helping to mature this fruit. It were no great loss if now that belief were to die out." And with it might go the Church and even the Christian name. The mind that was in Jesus is the one thing needful. It boots not to call Jesus "Lord, Lord"; the great matter is to have the blessing of His Spirit in our hearts.

This is Christianity independent of history with a vengeance. Let the subjective school in our land take note. I dislike this book. I do not estimate its importance, even as a scientific contribution, very high. But I am in a way thankful for its appearance. It may at least serve the purpose of a scarecrow.

A. B. BRUCE.

Theologische Encyclopädie.

Von Dr C. F. Georg Heinrici, Professor der Theologie an der Universität Leipzig. (Grundriss der Theologischen Wissenschaften.) Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1893. London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate. Large 8vo, pp. xvi. 372. Price, M. 6.

THIS handbook of *Theological Encyclopædia* appears fourth in the order of publication, though naturally intended to occupy the first place in the systematic arrangement of the series to which it belongs. Its predecessors have been Cornill's *Old Testament Introduction*, Harnack's (outline) *History of Doctrines*, and the first volume of Müller's *Church History*. It may at once be said that Professor Heinrici's work excellently maintains the reputation which these able manuals have established for the series. It preserves the same general characteristics as these exhibited, and by which they were differentiated from the other series of *Theologische Lehrbücher* issued by the same publishers. The latter are on a more extensive scale, and though generally very readable, are still more books of reference, while the former, as befits a *Grundriss*, aim at presenting all that is essential within a brief compass, and in a form at once attractive to the reader and readily available for the student.

The subject of "Theological Encyclopædia" has not received that attention in this country which its importance deserves. In some respects, as we shall presently see, such consideration as it has obtained has resulted in a more comprehensive view being taken of it here than is found in the best treatment of it in Germany. But it may safely be said that the great mass of British workers in Theology have been too much occupied with the cultivation of their own corner of the field, and have not seen the advantage of a com-

prehensive and systematic survey of the whole. To this must be attributed many partial and erroneous views, and many faults of method, as men persist in looking at and judging other departments, as well as the whole subject, from the point of view peculiar to that department on which they happen to be engaged. Hence arises that want of a sense of symmetry and proportion in their work, of a recognition of its true conditions, which is not the less to be regretted that the workers are so often unconscious of it. In Germany such a systematic survey forms part of the regular theological education, so that, while the theologian selects his own special province and seeks to know all there is to be known concerning it, he knows also something of the whole field,—sufficient, at least, to enable him to estimate the relation in which his own work stands to the general course of theological thought and enquiry. The *Theologische Encyclopädie* is moreover not a mere formal outline, but a lucid and informing summary of facts and results connected with the several branches of the subject presented in such a way as to be helpful in the more detailed study of any of them. The works of Hagenbach and Rübiger are examples of this method of treatment, and are accessible to the English reader, the former through the adaptation of it by Messrs Crooks & Hurst (New York, 1884), and the latter in the excellent translation of Mr Macpherson (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1885).

In a "Theological Encyclopædia" the points of cardinal importance are the conception formed of Theology and the distribution of its subject matter. It is here that the chief British contributions to the subject, to which we have already referred, exhibit a decided superiority. Alike by Principal Drummond (*Introduction to the Study of Theology*), Principal Cave (*Introduction to Theology*), and Professor Flint (article "Theology" in the *Encyc. Brit.*, 9th edition, vol. xxiii.), Theology is recognised as far wider in its scope than specially Christian Theology. The identification of it with the latter, though adopted by all the leading theological encyclopædists of Germany, Professor Flint characterises as "an amazingly absurd procedure," and as altogether unscientific. German theologians seem to be led into this position by the close relation of dependence in which they almost uniformly consider that Theology stands to the practical work of the Church. They still think of it too exclusively as a "professional science," those of High Lutheran tendencies because of the place which the Church holds in their system of doctrine, and those of freer modes of thinking because apparently they find in the Church as an institution the only bond which holds them together. We hear much of freedom of theological investigation, but the cultivation of theological science for its own sake, and apart from all dependence upon ecclesiastical institutions and

requirements, does not yet appear to be so fully recognised as it might be. Dr Heinrici is still in this respect at the "pre-scientific" stage. The Philosophy of Religion, and a glance at the characteristics of the Ethnic Religions, occupy a subordinate paragraph under Systematic Theology, instead of forming the starting point of the whole scheme. In respect of arrangement, Heinrici virtually follows the fourfold division adopted also by Hagenbach and Rübiger. He reduces the four departments, however, to two by including Biblical Science or Exegetical Theology and Church History under the general title of *Historical Theology*; and by grouping Systematic and Practical Theology under the head of *Normative Theology*. Other peculiarities of arrangement will be noted, e.g., the postponement of the historical sketch of Theological Encyclopædia and Methodology to the end of the book; the useful distinction under Exegetical Theology, as well as under Church History, of the Disciplines of Investigation (*untersuchende*) and those of Exposition (*darstellende*); the less justifiable postponement of the consideration of the methods and history of Biblical interpretation until after the Theologies of the Old and New Testaments have been dealt with; and the inclusion of Logic and Psychology, as philosophical ancillary sciences, under Systematic Theology. Among sections of special interest, and touching upon subjects not usually treated in works of the kind, may be mentioned that upon the Unity of Religious Thought in the Bible, in the introduction to the department of Exegetical Theology, and those upon the Methods of Historical Investigation and Criticism, which conclude the historical department. In every section throughout the book the information needed by the student is succinctly but lucidly given. In many instances, of course, especially in the historical sketches, it amounts to little more than the names and dates of representative men and books, but in general there is sufficient of luminous exposition to make the pages easily read and most suggestive, whether to the beginner or the advanced student. The scale of treatment, both in the expository and historical paragraphs, is less full than that of Rübiger, and the Bibliographical lists aim at judicious selection rather than exhaustiveness. An extremely useful feature of the book, however, is the *Methodologische Anmerkungen*, the "practical hints," attention to which will greatly smoothe the student's path, especially at its initial stages.

In the case of a work touching upon such a vast number of subjects, it is impossible to include in a review even the briefest indication of the attitude of the author to those subjects individually. A short account of his general standpoint and conception of his science may, however, be desirable.

The task of Theological Encyclopædia he regards as the scientific

exhibition of Theology so as to show its contents, its several divisions and their connection, its development and relation to the circle of the Sciences. In other words, it has to set forth the present day position of the problems and achievements in the department of Theological Science, and that both with regard to the nature and the origin of these problems and achievements. It is at once a preparatory and a recapitulatory study ; in the one case guiding the young traveller when he sets out on his journey, in the other gathering up in a systematic form the results of his travels. Yet it is not to be compared to a traveller's handbook, since this only points out the specially remarkable objects, and brings the different regions of travel into a merely external connection. Theological Encyclopædia is more like a geological map, which brings to view the facts which have contributed to the formation of the earth's crust, and the conditions which make intelligible its present condition and the processes going on within it. "Such a description is *genetic*. It has to explain how things have come to be, in order to make clear what they are." It is a bird's eye view of the whole subject, and has discharged its function "when it has given the theologian an impression of the exhaustless riches and truly exalted character of his science, and stimulated him to renewed independent investigation into the matter with regard to the nature and relations of which it has sought to instruct him." The advantage, and at the same time the moral worth, of the study lies in its preventing the enquirer from demanding more from the materials, and expecting more from the results of his investigations than they are able to supply, to defend him from the disappointments attendant upon excess of enthusiasm or defect of comprehension.

As an example of Dr Heinrici's "practical hints," the following may be quoted. It applies to the sections on Biblical Introduction, and will be found not unworthy of the attention of the student. "If the attempt is made to comprehend the Biblical writings apart from their historical conditions, the revelation of which they are the vehicle will be misunderstood, and their power of religious nourishment be diminished. . . . On the other hand, a purely philologico-historical knowledge of the Bible will be theologically barren. What the theological student looks for, therefore, from the science of Biblical Introduction is to be brought by it face to face with the *real meaning* of Scripture, so as to establish its authority in a manner which involves no self-contradiction. To this end he must make himself acquainted with the present state of critical enquiry, and that not merely by reading about it, but by joining in its labours. The latter is demanded quite as much in the case of the Bible as in any other line of investigation ; for without it, it is difficult to avoid the danger of becoming either a slave to the letter

or a slave to great names, and a mere echo of other men's opinions. The theologian who, in connection with any enquiry relating to Scripture, has 'taken the greatest pains with the smallest point' ('*im kleinsten Punkte die grösste Kraft*'), has secured the key to its inexhaustible treasures."

It is enough to say that Professor Heinrici has striven to be faithful to his own principle, and that every part of his work illustrates that faculty for taking pains which has been said to stand in an intimate relation to genius itself, and is, at any rate, one of the chief conditions of success.

ALEXANDER STEWART.

Essai sur Saint Matthieu.

*Par Théodore Naville. Lausanne : Georges Bridel et Cie.
Tome I^{er}. 8vo, pp. 642. Price, Fr. 8.*

THIS volume is a good homiletic commentary on Matt. i. 1-xi. 1. The author says in his preface: "C'est une simple étude que nous entreprenons, afin de faire passer sous les yeux et dans le cœur des chrétiens cultivés les richesses du premier évangile." An introduction, brief and clear, of sixty pages, deals with the Synoptic question, and with the origin, unity, and integrity of the First Gospel. The author thinks (with B. Weiss) that "Proto-Matthew" contained history as well as discourses, and that it was used by the writers of the First and Second Canonical Gospels. On oral tradition he remarks: "Nous sommes loin de vouloir le nier ou l'amoinrir. Mais cet élément ne saurait constituer à lui seul une explication suffisante des relations qui existent entre nos synoptiques" (p. 25). M. Naville finds in the First Gospel one plan, one language, and one mode of narration, and does not doubt its unity and integrity.

The commentary itself, if it contains little that is original, is yet helpful and readable. Some latitude of range must, of course, be allowed in a homiletic work. There is a discussion (pp. 192-3) on Confession in the Catholic and Protestant Churches. The author can see blots in the latter as well as in the former. Speaking of the "testimonies" of the converted, in which revivalists delight, he exclaims: "Nous ne nous opposons point à ce que ceux qui viennent à Christ déclarent, même publiquement, qu'ils répudient leur passé; mais qu'ils le fassent une fois, en quelques mots, et qu'ils ne racontent pas!" In illustration of the opening of the Lord's Prayer, he quotes (p. 400) from A. Monod's hymn:—

"Je fais monter vers Toi mon Hommage ou mon vœu,
Avec la liberté d'un fils devant son père,
Et le saint tremblement d'un pécheur devant Dieu."

Later on, in commenting on chap. x. 2-4, M. Naville gives (p. 577, ff.) short lives of all the Apostles. The sketch of Peter is vivid, but it contains some doubtful matter. Thus on the Second Epistle we find the remark: "Sans doute le style se rapproche plus de l'épître aux Hébreux que de celle de 1 Pierre. Mais cela s'explique si Pierre se trouvait en contact avec Paul à Rome, et si ce dernier venait de rédiger son épître aux Hébreux dont notre épître semble supposer la publication récente (iii. 15)."

It will be clear to the reader by this time why M. Naville prefers to call his book an "essay" rather than a "commentary." The contents of the book are varied and interesting, and it cannot be said that the author neglects his text. It is a modest work, answering well to the aim which the writer sets before him, viz., to meet the wants of the educated "general reader."

W. E. BARNES.

Le Témoignage du Christ et l'Unité du Monde Chrétien. Études philosophiques et religieuses.

Par Ernest Naville. Genève: Cherbuliez. 8vo, pp. lx. 311.
Price, F. 5.

In his preface M. Naville tells his readers that his first intention in this work was to fix the sense of the two ideas—authority and the supernatural. The study of these questions led him to touch that of the divisions of Christendom and the unity that subsists beneath these divisions. The two parts are held together by an organic bond, because the admission of the witness of Christ ought to unite Christians in a common faith in spite of what otherwise separates them.

The second part of the work is an earnest appeal to "Christians of all churches, philosophers who hold spiritualistic doctrines, all men who are placed directly or indirectly under Gospel influence," to concentrate their forces in presence of the flood of irreligion which, like a rising tide, is threatening to overwhelm all classes of society.

The thesis to be proved being that the witness of Christ is founded on the supernatural, Chapter I. is devoted to the definition of the terms *supernatural* and *authority*.

The author begins by defining the natural, in contrast to the supernatural, as "the order of things grounded on ordinary experience, whether in the material or the moral world" (p. 4). The supernatural is a fact which really, and not simply apparently, deviates from those well established laws which constitute for us the laws of nature.

The possibility of such deviation may be denied, on the ground that the laws of nature are not only *general* but *necessary*. "This is idealistic philosophy, which in religious language takes the name of pantheism" (p. 6). If determinists are consistent, every free action would be supernatural. The supernatural is founded on "the idea of the liberty of God, and the use He makes of this liberty in His relations to man."¹ What is authority? Authority is the character of that which imposes itself by experience, reason, and testimony. In what, then, consists liberty of thought? In shaking oneself free from undue authorities in order to submit to legitimate ones. "A Protestant," says Vinet, "is a man who examines before submitting." It is only in regard to undue authorities that there is an opposition between liberty and authority.

Chapter II. treats of the testimony of Jesus Christ and its value. The testimony of Christ is founded upon His direct relationship to a world superior to ordinary experience. John the Baptist says of Him, "He that cometh from heaven is above all, and what He hath seen and heard that He testifieth" (John iii. 31, 32). And Jesus points out the origin of His teaching in the words, "We speak that we do know, and testify that we have seen" (John iii. 11); and Paul lays great stress on the witness of Jesus. As He was about to leave the world He said to His disciples, "In My Father's house are many mansions" (John xiv. 2). Here we have the affirmation of a reality which Christ says He knows. He asserts that there is something above and beyond this earthly life, a holy society into which enters nothing that is defiled or unholy. This society is founded on love, for "God is love; and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him." Creation, redemption, sanctification are the three great ideas which sum up the Gospel.² Compare the position of those who receive the witness of Christ with that of the most enlightened sage of the ancient world—Socrates—consoling himself with the probability of a future life.

Proofs of the truth of the testimony of Christ. The most important are the internal proofs. The man who knows where he has found light, strength, consolation, peace, will attach himself to Him by whom he has received these benefits, and appealing to

¹ M. Pillon in *La critique philosophique* of 17th January 1883, p. 389.

² Professor Naville's teaching reminds us of Dr John Duncan's:—"The law ordained, 'Thou shalt love;' and love ordained that law. Man would not keep it, and love ordained a gospel; that gospel is, 'God so loved.' Thus, 'Thou shalt love' is the whole of the law; 'God so loved' is the whole of the gospel. That is so clear that it is at once law and gospel for children and for savages; but it is so deep in its limpid clearness that no philosopher can fathom it."—"Colloquia Peripatetica," p. 130.

his experiences will say, "I know whom I have believed." We pass on to the proof drawn from the resurrection of Christ. "It is an uncontested and incontestable fact that the Christian Church is founded on its faith in the resurrection of its head, but it is natural to ask for the proof of the proof" (p. 51). What proof can be given of the reality of the resurrection of Christ? The strongest proof of its reality resides in the history of the Church itself. It resides "not only in acts accomplished nineteen centuries ago, but in acts accomplished during nineteen centuries, and which are still being accomplished in our own days" (p. 52). But it is not so much in the spread of Christianity that the proof resides as in its moral influence. Not that morals were unknown to the ancient world. "The Gospel," says Vinet, "did not invent morals; some of the finest maxims had been for a long time in circulation in the world. . . . The prerogative of the Gospel is much less to proclaim a new system of morals than to impart strength to practise the old" (p. 55). In reply to the objection that so-called Christian peoples are far from practising the morality of the New Testament, and that religion has been the cause of odious persecution and bloody wars, M. Naville answers, "The Gospel is a leaven; Christianity is the dough which the leaven has to penetrate little by little; and the dough is not only heavy, it offers an active resistance. In spite of this resistance the divine work is being accomplished" (p. 57). The next question discussed is: can a man profess the Christian faith while declaring that he accepts no authority? No doubt doctrines are not to be received without examination. As we cannot judge from our own experience, the examination bears upon the value of the witnesses. Faith does not spring from authority, but authority from faith. Where there is no authority there is no faith. But, "if we have given our confidence to Jesus Christ, we are willing to accept from Him truths which go beyond us. They are proved and generated by an act of faith, not by their own evidence, since they go beyond us" (p. 93).¹ In concluding his arguments, M. Naville adds, "The reasonings which have just been presented may strengthen the faith of those who profess it in some degree; but they are not sufficient to produce it . . . because the heart, the conscience, and the will have a great part in the formation of our religious beliefs. . . . When Christ indicates the method which He proposes in order to recognise the truth of His mission, He says, if any man willeth to do the will of God, he shall know of the teaching whether it be of God or whether I speak from myself."

M. Naville goes on to show the connection between Christian philosophy and faith. In the second part of his work he engages

¹ Quoted from M. Stapfer's "L'Autorité de la Bible et la critique," p. 22.

Christians of all Churches to unite in their efforts to combat the common enemy, as far as possible, on the ground of their common faith in the witness of Christ. He appeals to Eastern and Western Catholics, Anglicans, Lutherans, Reformed, and all other communities to fix their eyes above the barriers that separate them, upon Christ, upon the basis of the beliefs which they hold in common and their oneness in morals and in sentiment.

It will appear to most Protestants that M. Naville underrates the difficulties of a common action between a Church which claims infallibility and those based on freedom of enquiry. He speaks of two classes of Catholics and Protestants, those who are first Catholics or Protestants, and more or less or not at all Christians, and those who are first Christians and then Catholics or Protestants. That is, good Christians and bad Catholics, or bad Christians and yet good Protestants.

M. Wuarin, professor of political economy in the university of Geneva, in criticising this part of M. Naville's book, agrees with him in the excellence of the principle which he advocates and believes, that the evolution which tends to bring Protestants and Catholics nearer each other is in the order of things, and is certain to come; but he adds, "The watchword on the side of the rigid Catholics is, the most absolute *non possumus*. Other Christians than those of Rome? An understanding? Closer communication? But we are the sole and only Christian Church. There are no authentic disciples of Christ in the orthodox Greek Church nor among the Protestants! The 'Unity of the Christian world' is already consummated, for we make no alliance with error, and agreement reigns among ourselves."¹

K. DE FAYE.

Die Begründung unserer sittlich-religiösen Überzeugung.

Von Dr Julius Köstlin. Berlin: Reuter und Reichard. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. 124. Price, M. 2.

DR KÖSTLIN always writes in an interesting and instructive way. His style is clear, his learning is wide, and his power of thought and exposition unusually great. He is also a historian, and likes to look at doctrines and arguments in their historic setting. His present inquiry is as to the ways in which religion and moral conviction may be founded. How can I be persuaded of the truth of the moral and religious convictions which I have, or how shall I attain to a persuasion of their truth? After a brief introduction, which sets forth the present state of the question, Dr Köstlin devotes a

¹ *Journal de Genève*, 28th April 1893.

chapter to the exposition of the view of Luther, and the views of the theologians of the Reformation, on the question. He next traces the history of the question, and indicates the kinds of argument used by dogmatic theologians and apologists from Grotius down to Edward König. Then we have a critical section, the aim of which is to show the insufficiency of the arguments used to produce religious conviction. He examines first the proofs for the Being of God, and those usually adduced for the truth of the Christian religion. Dr Köstlin does not think that by the theistic argument for the Being of God, or by arguments for the truth of the Christian religion, as these were wont to be conducted, he can attain to certainty. This second part is valuable, both for its historical information and also for its clear and incisive criticism.

Then he comes to the constructive part of his work. His general principle is, Inner experience is the ground of religious and moral conviction. He has the following sections :—The origin of Religion in general, Immediate perception (*Innewerden*) in the universal moral consciousness, The origin of Christian Faith according to the statements of the New Testament, Inner Christian experience according to more recent theologians, Exposition of the inner experience which is the foundation of the Christian assurance of faith, and its range. Under these headings Dr Köstlin unfolds an argument of great weight and value. It is not our purpose to criticise it here, or even to set it forth. But we may commend it as of present apologetic and dogmatic worth. We have been much interested in the recognition of the value of the work done in this relation by English-speaking theologians and moralists. We were glad to find a generous and just recognition of Jonathan Edwards, a theologian who has not yet come to his own. "Jonathan Edwards," says Dr Köstlin, "occupies one of the first positions as an important, deep, and powerful thinker. Not only among his countrymen and co-religionists up to the present time, but also in England and Scotland he has attained to high esteem. . . . The moral sense, according to Edwards, is an 'internal sense' for the harmony and order of things, a power to apprehend this harmony, and with it a power to apprehend the beautiful; a similar internal sense, the æsthetic sense, deals in a similar way with the beauty or harmony in the visible world. The moral sense apprehends, recognises, and approves of the beauty and harmony displayed in the moral province, in the province of the affections, character, actions; its object belongs to the will and to the disposition of the will, or, to use an expression which will be readily understood, to the heart. As Kant said, that a good will is 'without limit,' to be held good, so Edwards declares further: true duty or beauty is that beauty of the heart, which is beautiful in virtue of a universal (not particular or relative)

beauty or harmony ; beautiful in itself, and in relation to the thing with which it stands in union. It consists so essentially in universal benevolence or in love, that it has not only been set forth richly in holy Scripture, but it has also been abundantly recognised by the deists." I need not translate more ; but perhaps what has been translated may send readers to the study of Edwards' two works on "The chief end of God in Creation," and in "The Nature of true Virtue," two of the most wonderful works ever written.

JAMES IVERACH.

Appearance and Reality : A Metaphysical Essay.

By F. H. Bradley, LL.D. London : Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 8vo, pp. xv. 552. Price 10s. 6d.

It is scarcely possible for any one to say much about this book. What are we to say of or to an author who frankly says in the preface, "I offer the reader a set of opinions and ideas in part certainly wrong, but when and how much I am unable to tell him. That is for him to find out, if he cares to, and if he can"? Dr Bradley has certainly set us a very difficult task, and we are not sure that we have caught his meaning, or what the set of opinions and ideas he offers us really are. We are not sure whether we are to take him, and his book, and his set of opinions as appearance or reality. The main criterion of reality is consistency, so says Dr Bradley. What is contradictory is only appearance. If we apply this criterion we are afraid that we must set this book down simply as an appearance. For we do not find consistency in it.

The first book deals with "appearance," and in it we have twelve chapters. The titles of these are, "Primary and Secondary Qualities," "Substantive and Adjective," "Relation and Quality," "Space and Time," "Thought and Reality," "Error," "Evil," "Temporal and Spectral Appearance," "The Reality of Self," "Phenomenalism," and "Things in Themselves." Venerable and time-worn metaphysical friends appear in a new guise, and display unwonted agility in these chapters. The one and the many familiar in the schools of Greece, the possibility of motion or of change, are again presented to our view and, with similar difficulties, are urged until we are driven to the conclusion that all "appearance" is as such self-contradicting. A specimen of the argumentation may be given—"The problem of change underlies that of motion, but the former itself is not fundamental. It points back to the dilemma of the one and the many, the differences and the identity, the adjectives and the thing, the qualities and the relations. How anything can possibly

be anything else was a question which defied our efforts. Change is little beyond an instance of this dilemma in principle. It either adds an irrelevant complication, or confuses itself in a blind attempt at compromise. Let us, at the cost of repetition, try to get clear on this head. Change, it is evident, must be change of something, and it is obvious, further, that it contains diversity. Hence it asserts two of one, and so falls at once under the condemnation of the previous chapters. But it tries to defend itself by this distinction: 'Yes, both are asserted, but not both in one; there is a relation, and so the unity and plurality are combined.' But our criticism of relations has destroyed this subterfuge beforehand. We have seen that when a whole has been broken up into relations and terms, it has become utterly self-discrepant. You can truly predicate neither one part of the other part, nor any, nor all, of the whole. And in its attempt to contain these elements, the whole commits suicide, and destroys them in its death" (pp. 45-6). Suppose we accept Dr Bradley's arguments as conclusive with regard to appearance. Suppose we also accept the result of his chapter on "the meanings of self," and generally accept his results, what are we to conclude? Are we to give up metaphysics, and say, *solvitur ambulando*? That is not Dr Bradley's conclusion.

He goes on to speak of reality and how reality may be known but in dealing with "Reality" he seems to us to forget what he has said about "appearance." If he finds it impossible to speak intelligibly of the unity of a lump of sugar, and if he cannot get the qualities and relations of a lump of sugar to unite, how is he able to speak of the absolute, and its unity in variety? He assumes that reality is self-consistent. But it is only an assumption after all. Others have found difficulty about the absolute. Hamilton and Mansel have given us specimens of verbal dialectic on this head as fine as anything contained in Dr Bradley's work, and Dr Bradley calmly passes them by on the other side, and assumes that the absolute is real. And he sometimes also seems to forget all that he has written, *e.g.*, "For I cannot see how, when I observe a thing at work, I am to stand there, and to insist that I know nothing of its nature. I fail to perceive how a function is nothing at all, or how it does not positively qualify that to which I attribute it." Taking this statement as it stands we can understand it. Taking it in the light of the first part of the book it is unintelligible. What is the "I" in it? What is the "thing"? And again, what is the "function"? And what is implied in seeing a thing at "work"? How many terms and relations have we here? When he says, "I observe a thing at work," how much does he predicate of the self, and how much of the thing? Have we not here the dilemma of the one and the many; and all that is contained in the foregoing

quotation. "A thing at work," is a thing either undergoing change or producing change in something else; and on any view Dr Bradley has no right to forget his polemic against change. This is only one instance out of many. He seems to forget in the second part what he has written in the first. The greatest of all puzzles is how a self which is no more than Dr Bradley allows in the first part, can be, or do, or think anything at all? How a self of Dr Bradley's kind can come to have an idea of consistency or inconsistency is to us a mystery. Dr Bradley says it can, but he has not shown how it can. But at all events he cannot take a step towards "Reality" until he has overcome his own puzzles about "Appearance." Why do we attribute unity to an orange? How do we unite in one thing and attribute to it the impressions which have come to us through different avenues of sense, and say that the orange is yellow, has taste, odour, shape, weight? Well, perhaps, we cannot explain? But we do in fact regard the orange as a unity! Why? Metaphysics ought to be able to explain? But Dr Bradley does not explain. He simply says that the process is suicidal, and then goes on to show that the process which is suicidal with regard to an orange, leads to legitimate results with regard to the Absolute Reality. It is prodigious.

JAMES IVERACH.

Der Materialismus: eine Verirrung des menschlichen Geistes, widerlegt durch eine zeitgemässe Weltanschauung.

By Dr Eugen Dreher, weiland Dozent an der Universität Halle. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. vii. 83. Price 2s.

THIS treatise is an attempt to refute Materialism and to establish a dualistic theory of existence. It is written in the interests of man's spiritual ideas, practical and speculative.

The book opens with what the author dignifies with the name of a "historical" sketch of modern physical Materialism, but which is really a collection of the materialistic opinions of such writers as Lamettrie, Emil du Bois-Reymond, Gustav Jäger—"the discoverer of the Soul," Büchner, Haeckel, Moleschott. These writers represent thought as "the movement of matter," a "function of the brain-substance," and the soul as "a chemical compound," or "the highest expression of organic forces"; man is said to be what he eats, and all actual existence to be sensible existence.

Dr Dreher finds that these materialists have accepted probabilities

for demonstrated truths, and have rashly attempted to construct an ontology without turning the light of criticism on their own hypotheses. Their theory rests upon the dualism of Matter and Energy, neither of which can be converted into the other. And their account of these ultimate constitutive elements is self-contradictory. They assert that these factors are inseparable, that energy does not float free of all matter, and that matter cannot reveal itself, or have any qualities, except in virtue of change which implies energy. And yet they hold to the doctrine of the Transmutation of Energy, and of its transition from object to object as if it were separable from each of them. Further, neither matter as such, nor energy as such, either is or can be observed ; but, as Emil du Bois-Reymond and others are forced to admit, matter and energy are in their last resource nothing but abstractions, complementary to one another, in neither of which thought can find rest. They are asserted without proof, and used without being explained ; and they bring with them ideas of space, time, and movement which the materialists have not investigated even to the extent of deciding whether they are real or unreal, subjective or objective, or both. The materialistic attempt at becoming a philosophy is premature and rash.

Nevertheless, these obvious difficulties have not broken the force of Materialism. Matter and spirit seem, after all, to move hand in hand, and the materialist, in insisting upon their unity, seems to many to hold a great truth in his hand, although he is not able to do it justice by scientific exposition and proof. And the doctrine of Evolution which mediates gradually the transition from the lowest to the highest forms of being, has deepened the hold of Materialism upon modern thought. But it is not able to explain where or how consciousness first appears. Evolution does not escape the difficulty by running back to the beginnings of things ; even to endow each ultimate atom with a consciousness of its own does not account for the *general* consciousness, or for the relations which make out of these atoms a universal order. And, further, consciousness, even when admitted, is rendered of no avail by the materialist : it is always for him either an overlooked or an idle factor. He does not seem to be aware that what we experience is not molecular movements in the brain, or wave-moments in the physical world, but tones, and colours, and tastes, and warmth, and pain, &c. And these are neither molecular movements, nor explicable therefrom. They are the products of spiritual construction acting upon data. Nay, movement itself is a mental construction—a syllogism based upon premises, namely, upon the identity of a material content at different times and places.

Thus, Materialism, by the neglect of the constructive activity of intelligence in some one or other of its forms, endeavours to under-

stand the world from the point of view of an abstraction. Besides this, it uses an untrustworthy principle in its investigations, namely, the law of causality. Causality is not only not applied by the materialists to the sphere of volition, but it is inconsistent with the facts of that sphere, and has to be set aside as invalid. Voluntary decisions are not resultants of conflicting or co-operating motives—one motive can extinguish another, and there is no correspondence between the strength of a decision and the intensity of its antecedents. All calculable equivalence between antecedent and consequence disappears, and unless there exists such equivalence, we are not justified in asserting causality.

Dr Dreher seeks no higher law when the mechanical one of causality thus proves inadequate, but he falls back upon the usual dualism of thought and matter. And the results of his dualism are the usual ones, namely, the assertion of realities that cannot be known, the separation of the ideal and the real worlds, and the concealment of the latter under the impenetrable Veil of *Maiá*. Matter, as we know it, thus becomes a phenomenon, and Materialism, which, in its innocence, has taken the material to be real, is thus refuted. Dr Dreher does not seem to see that every other conceivable theory is refuted by the same hypothesis.

In the latter part of this little book, the author attempts reconstruction in a fresh way. Having reduced the world of the materialist into a phenomenon, he still finds a place and need for it as the opposite of thought. But he does not explain how any valid opposition to thought can be offered by a mere phenomenon, which is itself in part the product of thought. Nor does he catch the hint of the deeper unity of thought which is implied in the very admission of its object as phenomenal. Instead of this, he breaks the continuity of existence in a fresh place. He interposes between the outer world of real objects—of which, like other phenomenologists, he continues to speak—and the world of conscious experience, a third world, which is the product of unconscious sense activity. In obedience to instincts and impulses which are innate, to powers that are subsidiary to the Ego, we construct unconsciously the world of sense. The senses, that is, furnish us with a kind of first copy of the outer world, and conscious thought employs itself upon this copy, elaborating thereby a secondary representation of reality. The real, the sense, and the thought-worlds correspond to one another; but they are related to one another externally by a kind of double pre-established harmony.

There is little need of criticism. The refutation of Materialism is clear and incisive. The attempt to mediate between the material and the spiritual by means of unconscious psychical activities is one of those compromises which multiply difficulties. It represents in

one way more the tendency, so prominent in Lotze and other recent German writers, to throw the emphasis on the material of thought, and to reduce thought itself into a formal activity. The same tendency within the sphere of religion and morality sets store in the first place on feeling and immediate convictions, as if anything immediate had a right to be convincing to beings who have, amongst other needs, the need to think.

HENRY JONES.

Lehrbuch der Praktischen Theologie (Text-Book of Practical Theology).

Von Dr Alfred Krauss, weil. ord. Professor der Theologie zu Strassburg: 2^{ter} Band, Katechetik. Pastoraltheorie. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: Mohr, 1893. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 456. Price, M. 9.

WE observe with sorrow that this second volume of Dr Krauss' "Practical Theology" appears as a posthumous work, the learned and able author having died on 31st May 1892, at the age of fifty-six. His colleague and friend, Professor Holzmann, has edited the latter half of the volume from the author's lectures, and prefixed a brief notice of his life and work. From this and from his previous publications it is plain that German theology has sustained a real loss by his removal, more especially because he had great knowledge of and sympathy with the Reformed type of doctrine. The first volume of the present work was noticed in these pages on its appearance (Vol. I., pp. 58-63); hence a briefer account may now suffice for this volume, which completes the plan proposed in the former, by adding to its expositions of Liturgic and Homiletic the remaining divisions of Catechetic and Pastoral theory. The qualities of systematic and logical treatment, sound practical sense, and earnest Christian feeling, appear in every part of the work, and it is written with a clearness of style that makes it easy and pleasant reading.

The treatment of Catechetic is very thorough and scientific, based upon a consideration of the essential nature and object of this part of ministerial duty, which is conceived as the imparting of the instruction needful for training up the children of the Christian Church to the point when they are of full age to undertake their own responsibilities; and from this point of view, the period, the distinctive character, the substance, and the method, of teaching Catechumens, are simply and clearly deduced, and illustrated with reference to the varying practices of the Church at different times. In this connection the question of infant baptism comes to be in-

cientally treated, though it belongs properly to Dogmatic. It is defended on the ground of the principles of Christ's teaching, as applied to circumstances different from those of the Apostolic Church; and this is satisfactory so far as it goes, though the recognition of the organic unity of the Church in the Old and New Covenants warrants, I think, a stronger statement of the really scriptural authority of the practice. However, on the more important question of the nature of the ordinance, Dr Krauss has very well shown that it can be explained only in the way of entirely discarding the Augustinian idea of baptismal regeneration, and regarding it as a sign and seal which only becomes truly efficacious through the faith of the receiver. Confirmation is recognised, but only as the personal acceptance of baptismal promises and obligations, equivalent to admission to the Lord's table, and not as a sacramental or episcopal act. The substance of catechetical instruction is held, in true Protestant spirit, to include the knowledge of the Bible, as well as of the sum of Christian doctrine; and in reference to this latter, a historical and critical account is given of the more important catechisms of the churches. Dr Krauss approves of the construction of these out of the Decalogue, Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Sacraments, and of this order among these parts which is the Lutheran; and while he recognises that some revision of the old forms is desirable, in order to make them more suitable in the present day, so as to be what they should be, popular summaries of the Church's faith, he does not consider that any of the attempts at this has as yet been successful.

The fourth division of "Practical Theology," according to Dr Krauss' arrangement, is Pastoral theory, and this occupies the second half of this volume. It consists of what is often called, in the narrower sense, "the care of souls," and it is conceived here in a truly Protestant way, since it is laid down that the evangelical minister has in this sphere no rights which do not in idea belong to every more lively Christian in relation to those who are less so, but that it is his duty to be and to do, for all those attached to his flock, whatever those in spiritual need may properly expect from more advanced Christians. These duties are to be discharged in the several spheres of ecclesiastical, civil, and social life, in all which the pastor has to watch over the flock entrusted to him, and lead them to Christ. Under these three divisions pastoral duties are discussed with great thoroughness, much practical wisdom, and warm Christian feeling, and much that is good and useful is contained in the sections devoted to them. It is impossible here to give a detailed account of their contents, or to offer criticisms on particular points, of which, indeed, there are not many where I would differ from the author. But, on a general view of the work

as a whole, a Presbyterian reader can hardly fail to be struck by the absence of any place for Church discipline in the system of "Practical Theology." There is no idea of the Church having the power, through its office-bearers, of regulating its own membership, and dealing by means of rebuke, suspension, and exclusion, with those of them whose conduct is plainly inconsistent with real Christianity. The power of discipline, which the Church formerly had, is regarded as almost entirely gone in the present day; and while earnest counsel is given to preserve and use wisely what remains of it, such a value is attached to the union of Church and State, as making the Church a leaven in the whole community, that the existing condition of things in Germany is acquiesced in as inevitable. In this country, happily, we owe it to the struggles of our Covenanting ancestors that a better state of things prevails, which it is surely the duty of the Church and her ministers to maintain at all hazards.

In conclusion, it must be said that every part of this volume is distinguished by extensive knowledge of the history of the subject and copious reference to its literature, though, as was natural, chiefly to that of Germany. While in some things, unavoidably, it is adapted to circumstances and customs that are different from those of this country, the book, as a whole, is one which no minister of the Gospel can study without much profit.

JAMES S. CANDLISH.

Die stellvertretende Bedeutung der Person Jesu Christi
(The vicarious significance of the Person of Jesus Christ).

Von *Ernst Cremer, lic. theol. Pfarrer zu Lich im Grossherzogtum Baden.* Gütersloh: Bertelsman. Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate. 8vo, pp. 127. Price, M. 1.80.

THIS little treatise is a most excellent and valuable contribution to the investigation of the vital Christian doctrine of the work of our Saviour. Alike in the appreciation of its history, the exegesis of Scripture testimony, and the construction of theological conclusions, it displays a command of the relevant materials, and a grasp of the essential principles, that give confidence in the soundness of the results reached. As indicated in the title, the main idea of the essay is, that the quality of substitution is to be ascribed not merely to the death of Christ as a fact, or to His work as a thing, but to His Person. In the author's opinion the Protestant post-Reformation theology failed to construct a satisfactory doctrine of the Atonement,

largely because it neglected this, and treated it merely as a thing. He is, however, not at all an unjust or unsympathetic critic of earlier forms of expressing the Christian faith. He points out the essentially religious nature of the question as to the salvation wrought by Christ, and its inseparable connection with the question as to His person. For our religious life, the assurance that Christ is God has value, because it is equivalent to the assurance that we have salvation in Him; and while in the ancient Church the relation of the two convictions was, that since Christ is our Saviour He must be God; the Reformation advanced from this to the converse conclusion, that because the man Christ Jesus is God incarnate we have full salvation in Him. This is, I think, a true and enlightening view of the progress of Christian thought during these great ages. But while the assurance of salvation through faith in Christ was preached by Luther, and formed a momentous step in advance of previous conceptions, it was not systematised as a theological doctrine, as, indeed, the German Reformer was a preacher rather than a theologian; and the task of giving a systematic form to what the Reformers all preached was left to their successors. This task they performed, however, in some respects imperfectly; and in regard to the doctrine of the Atonement, Herr Cremer signalises especially two defects in the later Protestant dogmatics. One is their making distributive justice the ruling attribute of God in this connection, and the other, that by looking at the death of Christ simply as a fact, apart from its historical relations, they introduce as the medium between God and man, not a person, but a thing. These defects laid this theology open to the attack of the Socinians; but in spite of them it was so far an expression of genuine Christian experience that it was able to overcome that attack, and has not been overcome even by the later assault of rationalism. In the practical preaching, and above all in the hymns, of the post-Reformation age, the essential truth of Christ's Atonement was proclaimed, though the theologians' way of explaining it suffered from the general fault of that time, the want of the historical sense. This criticism seems to me just and fair, though it might be qualified, as well as confirmed by the observation that the above-mentioned defects are less visible in the federal school, who gave their theology a somewhat more historical character than their brethren. Anyhow, it is widely felt in the present day, that while the belief that sin is so enormous an evil as to need for its forgiveness the sacrifice of Christ in the sinner's stead is a true and Christian one, the precise form in which it was explained in the seventeenth century can no longer be maintained. Herr Cremer then proceeds to examine the theories of Hofmann and Ritschl, as two outstanding modern attempts to solve the problem, acknowledg-

ing their value, especially that of the former, as doing justice to the historical element, but pointing out how they fail to satisfy Scripture teaching and Christian feeling.

This leads to an investigation of the purpose and work of Jesus from the historical basis of the gospels. The claim of Jesus was to be the Messiah, the bringer-in of the reign of God ; and that implies that His work was not only a proclamation but a deed, the giving of salvation, and that on a world-wide scale, as the prophets had foretold. This required, as was also taught by the prophets, a judgment ; but the judgment was in order to the salvation of the world. Thus Jesus, in the first place, awakened men's sense of guilt ; but the characteristic of His work, as distinguished from that of previous prophets and the Baptist, was that He gave forgiveness to sinners ; and this is the essential blessing of the Kingdom of God. In opposition to Ritschl, our author says, "The love which we practise will never make the earth the kingdom of God, but only the love which we believe, and even it cannot do this without judging" (p. 45). Then he points out, that if, as in Ritschl's view, the work of Jesus was merely the revelation of the love of God in word and deed, His miracles have no necessary connection with it, since that love could be shown by works of love within ordinary human power ; whereas, as signs and proofs of a great deed of salvation that He was about to do, they have a necessity and essential connection with His ministry that shows them to be in the highest sense reasonable. They were needed to show that He had indeed the world in His hand, and that He would use His power for the world's salvation. Jesus by claiming to be Messiah, the Judge and Saviour of the world, took the position of God, and this not merely in Ritschl's sense of a judgment of value (*Wert-urtheil*) ; for, it is asked, How can we ascribe the value of God to one who is essentially not God, but only a man ? But if He is truly God, and as such has the power to decide our destiny, and the will to decide for our salvation, the next inquiry is, What is the deed by which He has done so ? This, by His own testimony and the general belief of the Church, is His death ; only that is not to be viewed, with the post-Reformation theologians, as a mere fact, but as a historical course of conduct on the part of Jesus, which was the appropriate sequel of the course of events up to that point. When the Lord of the world appeared in the world to establish His kingdom, revealing God's hatred of sin as well as His love to men, there came a point when He must either judge the world, or save it by Himself undergoing its judgment. This was the crisis in Gethsemane and in His sufferings, especially when on the cross He cried, "My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me ?" He was bearing the divine judgment against sin,—as

Paul says, "made sin," "made a curse," in our place. Such a substitution was prefigured by the Old Testament sacrifices, to which Jesus referred when He spoke of giving His life a ransom for many, and of His blood shed for the forgiveness of sins. The exegetical grounds of these statements are ably and clearly set forth, and Herr Cremer does not hesitate to affirm that Jesus suffered the wrath of God. On a subject, however, at once so sacred and so mysterious as the suffering of the Holy One of God for our sins, it is surely safest and most reverent to confine our statements to what has express Scripture warrant; and therefore, while I agree with the author in understanding the forsaking as real, I prefer to avoid the expression "the wrath of God," without denying that in a sense, and if taken as inseparable from "the cursed death of the Cross," as the Westminster Shorter Catechism takes it, it may express a truth.

It will be seen from the foregoing outline of the contents of this treatise, that its deviation from the 17th century theology is not great, far less than its difference from the views of Hofmann and Ritschl. Yet the divergence is not unimportant, and is entirely for the better. It gets away from the idea of anything like a commercial exchange, in which the value of one thing or deed is balanced by another, by showing that the deity of Christ is not merely to be considered as giving infinite value to His sacrifice, but is essential to show that the world's Lord and Judge is He who suffers the judgment that He must else inflict; it puts in place of the attribute of distributive justice, of which it is hard to see how it can be satisfied with vicarious punishment, that of holy hatred of evil, which is much more frequently brought out in Scripture; and it enables us to see more directly and clearly than the older forms of expressing the doctrine, how Christ, in the very act of redemption, reveals God's character as holy love. This treatise is not indeed, and in its limits could not be, a complete discussion of the Atonement. Some points needing exposition are left untouched; and in particular, I do not think we can do full justice to this great doctrine without bringing in an idea that Herr Cremer does not refer to, the mystical and spiritual union between Christ and His people. But so far as it goes his work is a valuable contribution towards the solution of the problem of making the theological expression of the doctrine more Biblical and satisfactory. The essential truth as a matter of religious faith has, as he well points out, always been held by the Church even when its theological expression has been more imperfect than that of the great Protestant dogmatics can be said to be; and the creeds and confessions express that essential faith without the more or less doubtful explanations that are necessary in Systematic Theology. Herr Cremer is in thorough sympathy with the

spiritual and evangelical faith of the Church, and writes with calmness and respect for those whom he criticises.

JAMES S. CANDLISH.

Die Philosophie des Nicolaus Malebranche.

*Von Dr Mario Novaro. Berlin : Mayer und Müller, 1893.
8vo, pp. 107. Price, M. 3.*

NEAR the beginning this monograph says that "before Kant, modern philosophy counts but three systems : that of Hobbes, that of Bruno and Spinoza, and that of Malebranche"; it ends with saying that in Malebranche "France appears to have had its only philosopher who is at once thorough and acute." The main purpose of the author is to show him as "offering the first and best example of idealism" in modern times, and to find the marks of his influence on after writers, more particularly on Hume in his treatment of causality.

Dr Novaro thinks that Malebranche needs to be saved from many of his exponents, but it is really a question of the point of view from which one looks at him. He is usually treated by reference to his predecessors, but Dr Novaro thinks with Fontenelle that Malebranche rather meets Descartes than follows him. Or he is treated with reference to Spinoza, his real, though not chronological, successor; and certainly the best historical method is to regard him as marking the transition from Descartes to Spinoza, much as Berkeley leads Locke to Hume. But Dr Novaro prefers to take him as the first metaphysician who clearly undertakes an idealistic explanation of the dualism which sets the problems of philosophy, and as a separate and distinct influence on the course of philosophy.

His account puts together, in short space, the theory of knowledge, and the nature of individual minds and of physical reality, as these are presented by Malebranche. The last section treats of his ethics; and nothing could be clearer and terser than the five pages of outline which bring into prominence his close relation with the ethics of Spinoza and Schopenhauer. In a short criticism, Dr Novaro summarises and approves of the well-known objections to the identification of knowing and being, *e.g.*, "We can have thinking only in an Ego. How can we have an ego where there is no non-ego? . . . Where have we experience of thinking without a brain?" But to give real value to these obvious objections, he would require to have discussed two questions: first, whether the

monistic or idealistic idea is implied in the search for the ground of truth anywhere, and second, what is to measure the value of the idea when it is said to have been found. As an exposition, however, this essay will be found to be both interesting and useful.

W. MITCHELL.

The Aesthetic Element in Morality, and its Place in a Utilitarian Theory of Morals.

By Frank Chapman Sharp, Ph.D. Berlin: Mayer und Müller, 1893. 8vo, pp. 131. Price, M. 3.

HERE Dr Sharp desires to supplement the doctrine of Utilitarianism, and to prove it more than a match for other ethical theories. There are two matters in which, he thinks, the theory requires a better treatment. One is with respect to moral beauty: the theory must get "beyond the helpless attitude of Sidgwick and Stephen" and "the superficiality of Bain and Laas." The other thing requiring better treatment is the idea of obligation, which is "as yet one of the weakest points in the system."

The greater part of the essay is concerned with the question of moral beauty. The treatment is partly expository, partly polemical. It is sought to prove that beauty of character is not always virtuous, —often the reverse,—and consequently that it is not the ethical end. And the conclusion is that beauty of character ought to be valued in terms of intensity and duration of pleasure, and that this can be done. The author has no difficulty in showing that qualities of character which we admire,—strong resolution or great skill, for example,—may be put to bad uses. But he forgets to say that no one confounds what he admires with its repulsive associates. The polemic is against an enemy whom Dr Sharp has set up for himself to despise heartily at length. He cannot think that one who takes the end and means of virtue to be in character attaches no meaning to the words "beauty of character," but leaves it to the good pleasure of any spectator. Whom does he expect to touch by the argument that, if beauty of character were the ethical end, every one should devote himself to culture, and keep free from the hard work of the world? He has to learn that every ethical end, ever seriously propounded, claims to account for all the facts, and that the value of such a theory has therefore to be determined on quite other grounds. His own conclusion is that beauty of character can be measured by the intensity and duration of the pleasure it affords. Who is to do the measuring is a question that does not trouble him, and, if each for himself, whether it is to be done at night or in the

morning. But the instrument to do it with is this: "A unit of intensity may accordingly be found in the smallest difference in actual attractiveness that can be detected by consciousness between two states of feeling. The *relative intensity* of any two states of pleasure will then be in proportion to their distance (counted in the units just mentioned) from the point of indifference = 0, and their *relative value* will be as the product of these terms into their respective periods of duration." No wonder Dr Sharp talks of the helplessness and superficiality of previous utilitarians; but psycho-physics is to give confidence and depth. One can only express a certain longing to see a table of the beauties of character drawn to scale. But what a prospect for autobiographers!

We are led to expect much from the chapter on obligation, but the argument comes only to this, that if people had no common aims, they could not say "you ought," but "you must," to one another; the pure egoist says neither "I ought" nor "you ought." In the first chapter it had already been said: "Egoism and altruism are simply names for the two directions in which a certain psychic force is found to work." This may mean anything, and, as Dr Sharp expressly refuses to say anything about this psychic force, it means nothing.

Dr Sharp is probably a young writer, and will no doubt come to believe that a certain respect is due to the intelligence of those whom time has approved. He may even come to see that "Scotch thinkers, and all of them, despite any protestations they may make to the contrary, and despite all the ingenuity they may at times employ to conceal the facts from themselves and others," may, after all, be honest. At any rate, he will not talk of Aristotle's ethics as having "a dash of the metaphysical," or Green's as having "a touch of the deontological." He will also believe more in the English language than to speak, in a first page at least, of "the to be sure oftentimes fulsome praise of the obituary notice."

W. MITCHELL.

Einleitung in den Hexateuch.

Von Lic. Dr H. Holzinger, Repetent am Evang.-Theolog. Seminar in Tübingen. I. Text; II. Tabellen. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: Mohr's Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1893. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Large 8vo, I. pp. 511, II. pp. 14. Price, M. 15.

DR HOLZINGER'S *Einleitung* is one of the latest additions to Mohr's well-known *Sammlung theologischer Lehrbücher*. The author's original commission was to prepare an Old Testament Introduction

which should form a companion to Holtzmann's "Introduction to the New Testament." But, as not unfrequently happens in such cases, Dr Holzinger found that his material for the opening section on the Hexateuch had assumed such proportions as to make it advisable to issue it as a separate work. And a goodly volume it is: over five hundred large pages, many of them in small print, attest at once the author's diligence and his determination to give what is practically a complete account of the present position of critical investigation in this important field. He makes no claim to have contributed materially to the solution of the innumerable problems of the Hexateuch; his method is "almost entirely reproductive," and seeks to present an adequate and impartial summary of the conclusions reached by the leading specialists in this department of Old Testament study.

As regards our author's arrangement of the materials at his disposal, it is so good that it would be difficult to suggest any improvement. The work is divided into five sections. The first of these (pp. 1-70) is of an introductory nature, and is mainly devoted to an examination of "the self-witness of the Hexateuch as to its authors," and to a history—more extended than that of Cornill—of Pentateuch criticism. The second, third, and fourth sections are respectively entitled "The JE-stratum," "The deuteronomistic stratum," "The priestly stratum of the Hexateuch," while the fifth is devoted to the "redaction" of the Hexateuch. In thus devoting a separate, even if comparatively small, section (pp. 476-504) to what we may call the synthesis of the various sources which he has discovered in the preceding analysis, Dr Holzinger has given a completeness to his work which is lacking in Professor Driver's epoch-making treatment of the same problems.

So much for the disposition of the author's material as a whole. I would now give an illustration of the thoroughness with which he has handled the points that come up for discussion in each of the sections dealing with the three great sources of the Hexateuch. Thus section two, as we have just seen, is devoted to the so-called prophetic narrative (JE), to which, following Wellhausen, Dr Holzinger applies the term Jehovistic. It falls naturally into two parts dealing with (A) the Jahvistic, (B) the Elohist source respectively. To the former source pp. 72-173—one-fifth of the entire work—are devoted, as follows:—I. The more striking characteristic data of the Jahvistic narrative (*Geschichtsüberlieferung*) as compared with the Elohist (§§ 11, 12); II. the linguistic and literary peculiarities of J (§§ 13, 14); III. the interests and ideas conspicuous in the Jahvistic narrative (§§ 15-17); IV. literary strata in J (§§ 18, 19); and V. place and date of composition and historicity of J (§§ 20, 21). The treatment

of the Elohist source is practically on the same lines (pp. 170-228), and the same applies to the sections on the deuteronomistic and priestly documents, only with such variations in the case of the two last as the nature of the case demands. Of the above sub-sections devoted to the study of the Jahvistic source, I have no hesitation in naming those devoted to the linguistic peculiarities (§ 13) and general literary method (§ 14) of J as the most valuable, because the most useful to the critical student of the Hexateuch; as the least profitable, on the other hand, those devoted to the various strata that may be traced in this source. The reasons for this judgment are briefly these:—In the former case we have an exhaustive, painfully gathered, and exceedingly instructive collection of linguistic and literary *facts*; in the latter, we have an equally exhaustive collection of *theories* that can hardly be said to make for edification. Too much space is devoted to the attempts of Budde and others to solve the insoluble. There would seem to be a certain mental intoxication in the critical operation of "Quellenscheidung," and it needs the level head and the sober sense of an August Dillmann to say "mit einem J¹J²J³ . . . vermag ich nichts anzufangen." Yet I would not have it supposed that Dr Holzinger is given to prefer hypotheses, however brilliant, unless they can prove themselves competent to afford a reasonable explanation of the facts. Neither is he an extremist in his attitude to the historicity of the hexateuchal narratives, as may be seen by his approving of the predicate "hypercriticism" as applied to Stade's and Meyer's refusal to regard Joshua as an historical personage (p. 83).

As regards the place and date of composition of J and E, Dr Holzinger approves of the arguments that have led the majority of critics to assign the former to the southern, the latter to the northern kingdom. For J²—that is, the main body of J—he considers the *terminus ad quem* to be "the turn of the 8th and the 7th centuries" (p. 171), the epoch of Sennacherib's assault on Jerusalem, a conclusion to which he is brought mainly by the statements of Schrader (KAT², pp. 96-102), regarding the well-known passage, Gen. x. 11 ff. The date of E is apparently more difficult to decide. B.C. 732, from which year we may date the breaking up of the northern kingdom, is regarded as the *terminus a quo*, chiefly because of a certain undercurrent of sadness which may be detected in E. In fixing the *terminus ad quem* as possibly a whole century later, our author, in my opinion, is inclined to defer too much to Lagarde's view as to the Egyptian names which occur in this source (pp. 225-6).

Of special interest to those who, as teachers or students or as both combined, have tried to formulate for themselves a working

theory of the successive *corpora legum* in the Hexateuch will be found the chapter in which the legislation of JE, as a united document, is subjected to a special investigation (pp. 242-254). Our interest centres naturally in the Book of the Covenant. The importance of this *corpus*, its linguistic peculiarities (for these see pp. 177-8), and its original position have been already discussed. Holzinger follows Kuenen and Dillmann in arguing for its *quondam* existence as an independent code, afterwards incorporated by E—therefore of North Israelitish origin—as against Wellhausen, Driver, and more recently Baentsch, who assign it to J. He likewise decides finally (*cf.* p. 492) for the view suggested by Kuenen, and warmly espoused by Cornill, that in E the Book of the Covenant originally stood in the place now occupied by Deuteronomy in the completed Hexateuch. As an alternative, which is not maintained throughout the work, our author throws out the suggestion that the Book of the Covenant may originally have stood in the neighbourhood of Joshua xxiv., and may be referred to in vv. 25, 26 of that chapter. He is not unaware, however, of the objections which may fairly be said to be fatal to such a theory (p. 179).

With regard to our author's treatment of the problem of Deuteronomy, which forms, as we saw, the third section of his work, I have space to call attention to but two points. The one is his reverent and sensible answer to the question: "Does a decisive turning-point in the spiritual history of mankind rest upon a forgery?" (p. 330). The other is his acute but impossible explanation of the *motif* of the Deuteronomic code. It is closely connected with his theory—or rather Stade's, which he finds "very attractive"—of the Book of the Covenant, to which I must for a moment return. The latter he considers to "represent a reaction [*circa* 675-50] of the old Jahvism against the neo-Jahvistic movement in Judah which had been inaugurated by the prophets. To stem this movement the Ephraimite priests brought forward the law of the good old time" (*das alte gute Recht*, p. 249). The Book of the Covenant, we find elsewhere, was a protest of "Old Israel still at home in the Northern Kingdom," against "the prophetic trend of thought in the South, which advocated with ever increasing urgency the reformation of the cultus, and *Deuteronomy* a counter-manifesto to this reactionary policy of Northern Israel" (p. 304).

As to P, it is impossible to do more than refer the student to the lists of the linguistic peculiarities of this most marked of all the sources, especially to the very significant list on p. 348 of "words and expressions that *do not occur* in P," among them some of the commonest words in the Hebrew language. One is glad to find Dr Holzinger doing more justice to the religious teaching of P

than some recent critics, as Reuss, for example, who says (though not in so many words) that in P's opinion cleanliness was above godliness, that a clean skin was more important than a pure heart (cf. "Gesch. d. heilig. Schriften d. A. T.," § 379). Not thus minded was he whose thoughts of God were those of Genesis i. 1-ii. 3. The important question of the relation of the Law of Holiness (here P^h) to D, to Ezekiel, and to the main body of P respectively, is discussed at some length. It is younger than D, but older than P. It dates probably from the period immediately following the return (p. 447), and is to be assigned to a school of the law developing itself "parallel to and independent of" the school of Ezekiel. Consequently the question of absolute priority is one that in the circumstances must remain unanswered (cf. p. 446).

The mention of a school in connection with H (or P^h) suggests a fact which Dr Holzinger is never weary of impressing upon his readers, viz., that the documentary sources of the Hexateuch (J E D P H), and even the redactional additions (R^d, R^{jo}, &c.), are the production, not of individuals, but of "schools." Thus D is not the conception of an individual, priest or prophet, but of a "deuteronomistic school," in which both were represented (p. 282). In precisely the same way we should think of J and E as products of a Jahvistic and Elohist school respectively.

In conclusion, I would say that every student of the Hexateuch is under a very great obligation to Dr Holzinger for the marvellous industry displayed in thus rendering accessible, in a single volume, the results of the labours of all our foremost Old Testament critics, and presenting these results so lucidly, so concisely, and so impartially. His tables, which form a small volume by themselves, giving the results of the "Quellenscheidung" of the leading scholars for every chapter of the Hexateuch, alone represent a piece of work not less laborious to the compiler than it is welcome to the student. The book, I would add, is well printed on good paper—exceedingly good for a German book.

ARCH. R. S. KENNEDY.

Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen age.

*Par Samuel Berger. Mémoire couronné par l'Institut. Paris :
Hachette, 1893. Fr. 10.*

WE have been permitted already to review M. Samuel Berger's valuable book in the *Academy* (Oct. 7, 1893); but the kind invitation of the editor of the *Critical Review* enables us to bring it before the notice of a different circle of readers.

Most of us have been accustomed to study the history of the *Greek* text of the New Testament, and to call to our aid the various versions, in determining its character at various periods ; but till lately we have not sufficiently realised that these versions have themselves a history, and in some cases an extremely chequered one. We recognise the gulf that lies between the "Greek Testament exactly as it was in the best examples at the time of the Council of Nice" and the *textus receptus* ; but a similar gulf, though perhaps not so deep or so wide, lies between the Latin Vulgate as revised by Jerome, and the printed text published in 1592 by Pope Clement VIII., and thenceforth made the absolute standard in the Roman Church ("cuius exemplaris forma, ne minima quidem particula de textu mutata, addita vel ab eo detracta . . . inviolabiliter observetur") ; and thus when we quote the *Vulgate* for this or that reading, the further question awaits us, which *Vulgate* is it? Jerome's, or Clement's, or some intermediate type of text? M. Berger has set himself to answer part of this question, and to trace the history of the *Vulgate* during the earlier period of the Middle Ages, particularly as regards Central Europe.

For a complete history of the version, we need, on the one hand, that it should be carried down to the final Clementine revision—and this indeed we may hope that M. Berger will find the leisure to do ; and, on the other hand, that the earlier history, that of the development of the text between the fifth and the eighth centuries, should be traced and described. This latter task is the hardest, though the most important, of the three ; all seems at present dark ; MSS. earlier than the eighth century are few, and it is difficult to estimate their value or the type of their texts ; and so, perhaps, M. Berger has done wisely in starting from the central period, where MSS. are plentiful, and two revisions of the text, those of Alcuin and Theodulf, are matters of history ; from this point of departure he or other students may gradually extend their researches forward and backward ; and in due time we may have the first and the third volumes of the history of the *Vulgate* added to the second.

History cannot be intelligently studied without geography, and the plan of M. Berger's book is rather geographical than historical. The mediæval *Vulgate* in France was a composite text, influenced by the Spanish MSS. which entered the country from the south, and the Irish which entered it from the north ; these Irish and Anglo-Saxon MSS. themselves largely incorporating a text which had come from Rome. For in the seventh and eighth centuries the links between Rome and the Anglo-Saxon Church were strong ; it was from Italy and Rome that Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrid

brought their stores of Biblical and other MSS. to enrich the libraries of Wearmouth and Jarrow; and it was to Rome that Ceolfrið, "*extremis de finibus abbas*," was carrying, as a return offering, the magnificent Amiatine Bible, when he died on his journey at Langres.

M. Berger accordingly begins his book with a description of the most important Spanish MSS. at Leon, Madrid, &c., and then examines the Irish and Anglo-Saxon MSS., such as the Books of Kells and Armagh, the "*Gospels of St Augustine*" both at Oxford and at Cambridge, the Codex Amiatinus, the Lindisfarne Gospels, &c. The Irish and Scotch monks were full of missionary zeal. From their conventual homes, such as (the Irish) Bangor, and Iona, they passed over to the Continent, to France, Germany, Switzerland and North Italy; and everywhere they left traces of their presence in Bibles and service books, written maybe on the Continent, but written in their characteristic hand and containing their national type of text; M. Berger devotes another chapter to these MSS., and to their descendants, written in France and by French scribes but still containing an Irish text.

Meanwhile, along the valley of the Rhone the Spanish MSS. were working their way northwards to meet the Irish; in the South of France we find again MSS. written by French scribes, but bearing strong marks of Spanish influence, sometimes in the order of books of the Bible, sometimes in orthography, sometimes in text.

But while the northern type of text was pure, the southern was corrupt, and full of the interpolations which, for some reason or other, were dear to the Spanish mind; and the composite text which resulted from the meeting of these two different streams was necessarily of very unequal value.

The two great recensions at the end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth century, those of Theodulf and Alcuin, were really a continuation, or rather a climax, in this contest between the corrupt Spanish and the purer British texts. Theodulf, though Bishop of Orleans, was a Visigoth, and his corrected Bible is a deliberate return to the old Spanish tradition and scholarship. Alcuin was an Englishman, born and educated at York; and in the correction of the Bible, which he undertook at the desire of Charles the Great, he undoubtedly made large use of the Anglo-Saxon texts to which he had been accustomed from his boyhood. But Theodulf's was a private enterprise, Alcuin's a public work, supported by the Imperial authority; and Theodulf's work was a failure, Alcuin's a success: while Theodulf's influence hardly extended beyond the two or three Bibles which contain his corrected text, Alcuin produced a text which almost immediately became a standard for Western Europe. Indeed its popularity was its ruin, its very reputation tended to debase it.

The demand for the "Alcuinian" Bibles became so large that they were produced as rapidly as possible in the great writing schools at Tours, and were soon copied carelessly from the first exemplar that was at hand; and thus the numerous "Alcuinian" Bibles, all so magnificent in their size and calligraphy, and so strongly resembling each other in outward form, present types of text varying indefinitely, and we have to search among them for a really "Alcuinian" text. Of course if we could identify the exact Bible presented by Alcuin to Charles on Christmas day, 801, our doubts would be at rest; but we cannot do this for certain, though, as M. Berger says (p. 193), there is every reason to suppose that the Vallicellian Bible at Rome is at any rate in part copied from that exemplar, and that the numerous Bibles copied at Tours show a gradual degeneration in text from that standard.

Such is the main outline of M. Berger's book; it is worked out with careful detail and with real love for, and mastery of, his subject; his enthusiasm is catching, and the reader soon finds himself interested in the descriptions of the various MSS., as small points of detail or history are discovered which turn them into important witnesses for the history of the text. Most of the great centres of literary life and work in the early Middle Ages are noticed—Lindisfarne, St Gall, Einsiedeln, Reichenau, Bobbio, Milan, Tours, Corbie—and their MSS. made to tell the story of their origin and relations. Sometimes the story is a striking one; for instance, the Book of Lindisfarne, that "masterpiece of hiberno-saxon calligraphy," discloses a close connection with Naples in an unexpected way. The Benedictine scholar, Dom G. Morin, drew attention a few years ago to the short list of Saints' days and Church Festivals preserved in this MS.; in this list occur the saints Januarius and Vitus, and mention is made of the *dedicatio basilicæ Stephani*. Now St Januarius is the special saint of Naples; St Vitus was honoured, and his remains preserved there, before they were removed to St Denis, and then to Prague; and the cathedral of Naples is called the *basilica Stephani*; and thus the exemplar from which this English book of the Gospels was copied must have come to the North of England all the way from Naples.

M. Berger concludes his book with full discussions on the order of books in the Vulgate Bible, on the capitula, and on the stichometry. It should be noticed that these *capitula* seem sometimes to belong to a pre-Vulgate type of text. For instance, in St Luke x. 1 (the mission of the seventy) all the Vulgate MSS. read *septuaginta duos*; while *septuaginta* (without *duos*) is the reading of most of the old Latin MSS.; yet in the *capitula* to St Luke, this section is cited in several Vulgate MSS. as "*septuaginta elegit*," or "*ubi misit septuaginta*," suggesting that these *capitula* were originally

compiled from an old Latin text; again, in the *capitula* to St John, one Vulgate MS. (Forojuliensis) makes no reference to the *pericope de adultera*; nor do any *capitula* mention the angel as troubling the water at the pool of Bethesda. Similarly, the *prefaces* to the Gospels, which are found in Vulgate, and not in old Latin MSS., were yet obviously written for the old Latin Gospels, as they presuppose throughout the old Latin order of Matthew, John, Luke, Mark, and, indeed, suggest a mystical reason for it. Small points like these show how the old Latin traditions lingered on far in Vulgate times.

In an appendix M. Berger gives us a catalogue and exact description of above 250 Vulgate MSS. in various public and private libraries; this is decidedly the best and most complete catalogue of the kind in existence, though even here we are surprised to find that some important MSS. are omitted. There is no mention of the Codex Fuldensis, written for Bishop Victor of Capua, nor of the Gospels at Friuli (Forojuliensis above), Perugia, and Prague. It is impossible to imagine that such a scholar as M. Berger could have forgotten their existence; the omission must be intentional; but we cannot understand why he has excluded them. We shrewdly suspect, too, that the treasures of the Vatican and other libraries at Rome must include more than *two* Vulgate MSS. worth cataloguing, which is all that he gives us.

Only those, however, who have to compile such a catalogue can realise how hard the work is, and how impossible it is to include every item that other people would wish inserted. M. Berger's book is the product of an immense amount of labour, and of labour skilfully managed; and the student of textual criticism, if he wishes to be thorough in his work, will not venture or desire to neglect it.

H. J. WHITE.

Étude de la doctrine chrétienne.

By A. Matter. Paris: Libraire Fischbacher.
2 vols. pp. viii. 383 and 458. Fr. 8.

THESE volumes come to us from the publishers who have already given us Gretillat's "*Exposé de théologie systématique*" reviewed in the *Critical Review* (vol. i. 183, vol. ii. 163). The author, M. Albert Matter, was formerly a Lutheran pastor, first in Alsace, and afterwards in Paris, and has been for several years Professor of Lutheran Theology in the Paris Faculty of Theology. These two volumes are, we believe, his first important work.

In reading through these volumes, we have noticed three general features: (1) a fervent religious spirit vivifying chapters which

might otherwise have been scholastically dull ; (2) sympathy with the liberal evangelicalism of the Protestant churches ; (3) a deficiency in the treatment of the fundamental principles of Dogmatic, and in the logical arrangement of topics.

The most unsatisfactory part of the work is the introductory chapter. The reader seeks in vain for clear and consistent conceptions of what Christian doctrine is, or of the sources whence the student of Christian doctrine is to draw his material. We are told that doctrine is the reflection or systematised expression of Christian thought, but we are not told whether it is the Christian thought of an individual that is referred to, or the Christian thought of the Church, and if it is the Christian thought of the Church, we are not told whether it is the Christian thought of the Church as it is to-day, or the Christian thought of the Church as it existed in the age when the official creed of the Church was drawn up. Our author cannot well be blamed for following the unhappy example set him by systematic theologians for the last two hundred years, in excluding the ethical side of Christianity from consideration in a study of Christian doctrine, but in a work that contains so much "popular" treatment of Christian doctrine, one would have welcomed a more distinct indication of the close connection—inseparable connection it ought to be—between Christian Dogmatic and Christian Ethic.

The author's statements about the sources of Christian doctrine are somewhat difficult to understand, and somewhat difficult to reconcile. He starts with Christian experience. He gives a sketch of the spiritual experience involved in conversion, and leaves the reader with the impression that Christian doctrine is to be a reasoned exposition of such experience. Further on, the norm of Christian doctrine is said to be the Gospel, but whether by the Gospel is meant the teaching of Christ, or the four Gospels, or the New Testament, or the whole Bible, is nowhere clearly stated. Elsewhere reference is made to the data supplied by ecclesiastical history. It is true that Dogmatic is dependent upon Christian experience, upon the Bible, and upon ecclesiastical history ; but our author has not indicated to his reader how these three factors are correlated to each other, and how he means to draw upon them.

The introductory chapter is so unsatisfactory, that the reader is agreeably disappointed to find that in this instance the porch is not too magnificent for the building.

In these days, when there is a much closer connection between philosophy and theology than there has been for centuries, it is natural to inquire into the philosophical school to which a writer on Christian doctrine belongs. M. Matter seems to have been little affected by the modern idealism which has powerfully influenced theology in Germany and Britain. He is an old-fashioned intuition-

alist who is more at home with Thomas Reid and Victor Cousin than with Kant and Hegel.

The leading divisions in M. Matter's volumes follow, for the most part, the usual division in the older Protestant Dogmatics. It might have been better if he had adhered *more* closely to the recognised divisions. Christian experience (so our author proceeds to lay out his subject) furnishes the idea of a reparation accomplished by Jesus Christ. That idea involves three phases of humanity, the primitive condition, the disturbance, the re-establishment of the normal condition. The primitive condition cannot be understood apart from God its author. God is therefore the subject of the first section. The re-establishment of the normal condition involves three subdivisions—the work of Christ, the elevation of Humanity, and the definitive condition of Humanity.

The following table will show the author's scheme at a glance :—

Reparation by Jesus Christ.	A. Primitive Condition	I. God.
		II. Creation.
	B. Disturbance	III. Sin.
	C. Re-establishment	IV. Redemption.
		V. Return of Humanity.
		VI. Consummation.

It will suffice to indicate one or two of the more significant features in the discussions grouped under these six heads.

I. God. There is a lucid statement of the ontological, cosmological, teleological, and moral proofs for the existence of God. Only it is questionable whether a writer who emphasises the necessity of spiritual experience for the apprehension of spiritual truth should speak of a rigorous or logical demonstration of the existence of God. On the perfections of God, M. Matter writes eloquently. In his section on the divine justice there is a variation worth noting. Justice he defines to be the activity of God as far as it gives sanction to law. The justice of God is as much concerned to secure obedience to law as to punish disobedience. Therefore the justice of God must work for the restoration of the sinner—*i.e.*, must do the work of redeeming love. Our author, in his fear of the opposition that is sometimes set up between the divine justice and divine mercy, as if they were two separate entities, gets rid of the necessity of using the word mercy, by giving a definition of justice so wide as to include mercy under it. Our author's conception of justice finds an application in the discussion of the atonement and in his eschatology.

II. Creation. In this section there is much that is admirably said, about the relation of science to religion, the interpretation of the early chapters of Genesis, man's place in creation, divine love

as the explanation of creation, man's primitive state as one of innocence rather than perfection, and other kindred topics.

III. Sin. The spirit in which this subject is handled may be gathered from a quotation in the second paragraph. "There is only one heresy—the denial of sin." The following are the subdivisions: "Sin in the Individual," "The Universality of Sin," "The explanation of this universality," "Religion under the influence of Sin." (This chapter is a specimen of the lack of orderliness in the arrangement of the material. In itself the chapter is unsatisfactory. It consists mainly of a description of religious tendencies the author dislikes—indifference, fanaticism, hypocrisy, superstition, intellectualism, scepticism, mysticism, pietism) and "Providence in a world where sin has penetrated."

One of the best features in this section is the treatment of the question of solidarity.

IV. Redemption. The following are the subdivisions: "Israel," "Jesus of Nazareth," "The work of Christ," "The God man," "The Trinity" (it is an awkward arrangement of material that leads the author to discuss the Trinity here), "Redemption as a divine work." On the person of Christ, our author leans to the Kenotic theory, and on the work of Christ he has affinity with M'Leod Campbell. He has a valuable criticism on the juridical theory of the Atonement, but he gets into a region where all discussion is wasted when, in treating of the Trinity, he propounds a question like this: Is the God of the Old Testament more particularly one of the three persons of the Trinity?

V. Return of humanity to its normal condition. The subdivisions are: "The Church," "The Holy Scriptures," "Baptism," "The Holy Supper," "The action of grace in the individual life," "The phases of spiritual upraising." M. Matter is by no means inclined to high doctrine regarding the Church, but the arrangement of his material here is suggestive of a Roman Catholic treatment of the subject. His views of Scripture are liberal and reverent. He explicitly discards both verbal and plenary inspiration. The pages which are devoted to Baptism are singularly good. In his discussion on grace, he tones down the Augustinian doctrines of irresistible grace and perseverance of the saints. Election he holds to be essentially election for service. In spite of his aversion to scholasticism, there is a good deal that is merely abstract—with no spiritual experience to correspond to it—in his discussion of justification by faith. Perhaps the weakness of a Lutheran theologian lies in this direction.

VI. The Consummation. The subdivisions are: "Continuation of our existence after death," "The Second Coming of Christ, The Resurrection, The Judgment," "Final restoration." Our author

espouses the doctrine of Universalism, and defends it with arguments drawn from the language of the New Testament, and from the Christian conception of God. He contends that divine justice demands universal restoration on the ground that it can only be satisfied by universal obedience.

D. M. Ross.

Pseudo-Petrine Literature.

Die Composition des Pseudopetrinischen Evangelienfragments (mit einer synoptischen Tabelle als Ergänzungsheft).

Von Dr Hans von Schubert, Prof. in Kiel. Berlin : Reuther und Reichard, 1893. 8vo, pp. xii. 196 + 32. Price, M. 4.50.

Das Kerygma Petri, kritisch untersucht.

Von Ernst von Dobschütz (Texte u. Untersch. xi. 1). Leipzig : Hinrichs, 1893. 8vo, pp. vi. 162. Price, M. 5.

Studien über die dem Johannes von Damaskus zugeschriebenen Parallelen.

Von Dr Friedrich Loofs, Prof. in Halle. Halle : Niemeyer. 8vo, pp. x. 146. Price, M. 5.

For something like a year, a steady stream of literature has been flowing from the press at home and abroad, dealing with the Petrine fragments found in the old monk's tomb at Akhmim. Interest has naturally centred on the *Gospel* rather than the *Apocalypse* in question. And to its elucidation nothing has yet appeared so full and thorough as the work named at the head of our review. The last word will not be said for many a day ; but for the present this contribution, together with Dr Swete's larger edition (just noted in the last *Critical Review*), will serve to put the student in the best position to judge how things stand. Specially useful is Schubert's Appendix (to be had separately in German (6d.), or in English of T. & T. Clark, price 1s. 6d.) exhibiting, in parallel columns, *Peter* alongside of our Canonical Gospels and kindred LXX. passages. But why, we ask, has the work as a whole been left untranslated ?

Schubert, in his Preface, reviews the literature up to last Easter, and indicates the tendencies therein visible. In particular, he distinguishes Harnack's first and second impressions ; and with apparent justice prefers the former, which minimized the value of any "independent" features. The central problem raised by the

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blending in *Peter* of dependence with a sort of independence as regards the contents of our Gospels, comes to resolve itself into the question whether the Fragment represents a type prior or posterior to Justin. Here scholars, both English and Continental, are divided; but it does seem, in keeping with the views of Zahn, Swete, and Schubert—to name no more—that the balance of probability now inclines to the latter alternative.¹ Harnack himself, in his recent *Geschichte der Altchristlichen Litteratur*, admits that our Mark is adequate to explain the reference to Petrine Memoirs in Justin (*Dial.* 106; cf. Mark iii. 17). While as to the common use of an unusual word (λαχμόν) for “lot,” it cannot surely be urged as of itself decisive. Our knowledge of the Greek then current is far too slight to admit of this: the more so that in one MS. of the *Acta Andreae et Matthaei* we get this very word, used, too, in a secondary sense, suggestive of a primary use of long standing (see Sch. 194, n.). And after all, Justin, in an exactly parallel passage (*Ap.* 35), repeats the usual word (κλήρον) already quoted from the Psalmist. But if this be granted, the evidence, as Schubert urges, seems to make for an origin in some semi-Docetic circle in Syria, “soon after the middle of the second century.” This position our author fortifies by a careful study of the Fragment’s relations to the *Acta Pilati* in its various forms; and makes out a good case for dependence upon an early form of the Pilate Legend, in the case of certain of *Peter’s* “independent” touches. Other minor features seem to be nothing but “enhancements” starting from Canonical data. But yet another “source,” not so much literary as atmospheric, has been recently suggested and applied with marked success in certain cases by Mr Rendel Harris in the *Cont. Rev.* for August. This is none other than the demonstrable tendency, found in ever growing measure among the early Christians, to turn prophecy into history, by assuming that every turn of phrase in the Old Testament that seemed to depict the Messiah, had, as matter of course, fulfilment in the actual Gospel history. Or, as Peter remarks in the *Preaching*, “We say (as witnesses) nothing without Scripture” (*Clem., Strom.* vi. 15, 128). If all these conditions are allowed for, there remains but a very small residuum of the unexplained in the “independent” features of *Peter*: while his dependence on all our Gospels may be considered highly probable, if not already proved. Its relation to the *Diatessaron* is still an open question.

A number of interesting points of detail are suggested by our

¹ Dr Sanday, indeed, in his *Bampton Lectures* (1893), takes the other side. But since he wrote, Dr C. Taylor’s thorough examination of the question in the *Guardian* (Nov. 29) does more than redress the balance. He points to Justin’s διασώροντες (“mocking”), in place of Peter’s σύρωμεν (“hauling”), as the more original; and is also suggestive as to the use of λαχμόν ἔβαλον.

Fragment, which may finally throw fresh light on old problems. To mention one only. Dr C. Taylor (*Guardian* for Nov. 15th), besides citing an apt parallel from Eusebius (*Dem. Ev.* iii. 5) for the reference of Justin to Mark, in his use of Petrine Memoirs, argues that not only Justin, but also our *Peter*, used Mark xvi. 9, *ff.*—a view which accords well with Mr Conybeare's recent attribution of these verses to Aristion (*Expositor* for Oct.).

Dr Taylor concludes with these words: "The obvious points of contact between the *Preaching* and the *Gospel* of Peter suggest that the latter, too, may have contained . . . a commission to the disciples, which presupposes the twelve verses" (Mark xvi. 9-20). This illustrates the fact that the tie which binds together the two works named above is no mere artificial one. Indeed, if Harnack be right in dating the *Kerygma* between Hermas (c. 140) and Heracleon (c. 170); this sister work may be taken to suggest the coincident production of a cycle of Petrine Pseudographs (yet see Harnack, *T. u. U.* ix. 2, p. 87, *ff.*) shortly before or after the middle of the second century. These, then, might represent another sort of "apology," levelled in part against the Jews, as the kindred *Apocalypse* is against heathen vice. Dobschütz, indeed, discountenances the idea that the *Preaching* depends at all upon Mark xvi. 9-20; while yet suggesting that the shorter ending of Mark (see Westcott and Hort) may depend on the *Preaching*, which was current in Alexandria at least at the end of the second century. And he concludes in general that our existing evidence does not allow us to decide for a connexion between the Petrine *Gospel* and *Preaching*. For the latter he claims an earlier origin than Harnack allows, reversing its relations with Hermas, so as to make this its lower *terminus* and the first quarter of the second century its mean date. He judges from the citation in Clem., *Strom.* vi. 15, 128, that no recognised formula of belief, even of the sort present in Aristides existed within the writer's horizon; and holds tentatively that "in the first decade of the second century a Christian at Alexandria felt the need for a supplement (*Ergänzung*) to Mark's Gospel," and, perhaps already in pursuance of the tradition about Mark as Peter's interpreter, wrote a "Preaching of Peter" as a *δευτερος λόγος* to Mark, standing much as the *Acts* to Luke's Gospel. Dobschütz also agrees with Harnack in identifying the *Preaching* with the *Teaching* (*Doctrina*) of Peter referred to in Origen. But he refers a *Διδασκαλία Πέτρου*, from which citations of an ethical order appear in Gregory Nazianzen and the "Sacra Parallela," to the Alexandrine bishop Peter (d. 311).

And so we are led to notice the last of the three works on our list, which has much in common with the various *Florilegia* familiar to classical scholars, but contains citations which cast light

on Christian literature. The value, however, of such references depends largely on the date of the compilation. Hitherto the *Parallela* have been put down to John of Damascus (died c. 755). But Loofs has done excellent service by showing that it belongs to c. 532 (or at latest 614-27), being probably the threefold work of Leontius of Byzantium (died c. 543), a monk of S. Saba, to whom he has already devoted a valuable monograph.

VERNON BARTLET.

Les Sciences Modernes en regard de la Genèse de Moïse.

Par J. G. Van Zeebroek, Prêtre du Diocèse de Malines. Bruxelles : Société Belge de Librairie. Pp. xxxvii. 344. Price, F. 7.50.

VAN ZEEBROEK's goodly volume deals with a subject of considerable interest and importance. The author's purpose is to determine how far a loyal churchman may accept the conclusions of scientists on the grave questions raised by the first eleven chapters of Genesis. (See the opening words of the short preface.) In order to answer the question raised, a correct exposition of the Hebrew text is required, and the exegesis of these eleven chapters forms the ground-work of the book. The exposition gives evidence of careful work, but contains little that deserves special notice. Occasionally it is difficult to determine the exact meaning assigned to the text. For example, the figure of sin, lying at the door of the sinner, as a ravenous beast lies in wait for its prey (chap. iv. 7), is paraphrased as follows:—*Ne vivrais-tu pas dans l'occasion prochaine du péché?* The suggestiveness of the illustration in the text is missed in such an explanation.

The most valuable part of the book will be found in the discussions (occasionally of considerable length) of the geological and other questions raised by the chapters under consideration. In these discussions the author does not profess to be original. He quotes freely from ancient and modern authors, especially on geological questions; and the general drift of the book goes to show that the teaching of the Bible does not conflict with the most approved results of scientific investigation.

The value of the book is enhanced by a series of genealogical tables, and prefixed to the volume is a chart which contains a useful summary of geological information, and shows at a glance the relation of the "days" of creation to the successive geological periods.

Regarding the Biblical record of the Creation, the author very properly insists that the practical aim of the writer shall not be lost sight of. It is a common-place to remark that the Bible was written

for the purpose of giving instruction in the truths of religion and not in the truths of science, as generally understood and spoken of. This is a common-place, but it is of vital importance in the discussion, and it is apt to be overlooked by the gods of the scientific sphere. In accordance with the important practical object in view, the leading features of the work of creation are alone dealt with, and wrought up into the picture presented by the author. Details, such as would be required in an exact scientific treatment of the subject, are altogether wanting.

In regard to the origin of the world, the crucial question is, "Whether the direct intervention of a Divine Creator is or is not required?" On this point our author avails himself of language used by M. Faye, whose work on the origin of the world is frequently quoted in our volume. M. Faye, in dealing with the view that the history of the universe presents an indefinite series of transformations,—that what we see at present is the *logical result* of a prior state of things,—refers to the difficulty of conceiving a condition of things out of which must logically issue that *chaos* which has certainly given origin to the state of things now actually existing. The difficulty is removed through the intervention of a personal Creator. "It is necessary to start here with a hypothesis, and to apply to God for the matter so widely diffused, and for the forces that regulate it."¹

These regulating forces our author finds in the Biblical expression, "the Spirit of God moved on the face of the abyss." Or, to put the matter otherwise, God introduces the laws of nature into the heart of that chaos which they are to transform (p. 44). The direct intervention of God is thus postulated for the creation of the original matter, which is found in a state of chaos at the opening of the Biblical narrative. But our author claims the direct action of God still farther, and that not merely in the creation of man and the other animals, but also in the very first manifestation of *life* on the world. For, although the chemical elements of which vegetable life is composed are found in the soil of our world, the *combination* of those elements necessary to the actual production of the organised vegetable life which our world has exhibited, demands the intervention of a supernatural agent. The theory of those scientists who, rejecting the intervention of a personal God, and, being compelled to give up *spontaneous generation*, have betaken themselves to the absurd position that the germs of our plants have fallen to our earth enclosed in meteorites from heavenly bodies, is thus referred to and dismissed:—

"These savants forget, among other difficulties, that of conserving life for these germs, in so rapid a journey through the atmosphere,

¹ Faye, *Sur l'Origine du Monde*, 1885, p. 257.

and it does not occur to them to enquire from what source came the first germs for the first heavenly body." It is the old story. Sooner or later the enquirer finds himself face to face with the first germ; whence did it come? Apart from a divine Creator, what is the reply?

On the question of the flood, our author holds that, so far as the human race was concerned, it was not universal. The discussion is too long to give in any detail in the space at our disposal. It is assumed that the world was populated in all its principal divisions before the date of the deluge. This is not a mere assumption at random. The question has been subjected to the test of figures; and the conclusion has been reached that, within five centuries from the creation of Adam, the population of the world mounted up to at least 1,200,000 souls. On the basis of these figures, and of the chronology of the Septuagint, it is held that the human race may very well have spread over the principal divisions of the world within the time allowed. Against the opinion that the whole human race was brought under the sweep of the deluge, scientists press the objections that Noah's descendants found inhabitants in the various countries into which they spread,—that these inhabitants, as compared with the Noachides, exhibited such differences as required many centuries to develope; that they spoke a language of an entirely different kind; and in part, at least, practised the metallurgic art, as indigenous to the country—this art being non-indigenous in the case of the peoples sprung from Noah. Van Zeebroek, admitting that the world was largely populated at the time of the flood, holds that the deluge, in its actual operation, was alike geographically and ethnographically local. But what, then, is the explanation of the language of Scripture? That language applies to the chosen branch of the human family, through which God's high purpose regarding the human race was to be fulfilled. Of that part of the human family Noah and his house alone were spared.

Such is the explanation. Is it sufficient or satisfactory? The author seems to be doubtful on this point. He closes his preface by protesting his "full and entire submission to every eventual decision of the Holy Church, especially in the controverted question of the universality of the deluge."

A great deal of useful information is collected under chapters X. and XI., but this must be left to the reader.

The work is an honest attempt to deal with a number of perplexing questions, and the author deserves the thanks of the reader for the pains he has taken, and the information he has communicated, whether his views be accepted or not.

GEO. G. CAMERON.

Wyclif Literature: Communication on the History and the Work of the Wyclif Society.

By Dr Rudolf Buddensieg, of Dresden.—From 1888 to 1893.

THE first volume of the Society's issue for 1888 was the third part of the *Sermones*, edited again by Dr Loserth. It was finally revised by Wyclif in the year 1383, and its text is based on the rather faulty Cod. Cambr., Trint. Coll. B. 16. 2. It deals in the main with the same topics as the second volume: the mischief and hollowness of the Pope's pretensions; the evil life of the clergy, prelates, monks, and friars; the pressing need of general reform; and the duty of the royal power in bringing about this reformation. "The prosperity of the Church and the country may only be restored by a return to the state of the Apostolic age." In this volume, the sermons of which are to a considerable part directed against the decrees of the Earthquake Council (May 1383), all those questions which touch the government of the Church are more fully expounded than those of a dogmatic nature. Yet the latter are not wholly omitted, and a considerable space is given to dealing with priesthood, baptism, confirmation, confession, and the Eucharist.

Thus this third volume forms, in the full sense of the word, a supplement to the second; and this being so, I may omit further detail.

With the second volume of the Society's issue for 1888, Wyclif's *De Apostasia*, a new editor of foreign extraction, Mr M. H. Dziewicki, came on the scene. He prepared his volume of about 260 pages with the help of six manuscripts, Cod. Vindob. Palat. 1343, which furnished the text of the work, while corrections were taken from Cod. Vindob. Palat. 3935, Cod. Univ. Prag. C. 73; III. F. 11; III. G. 11, and Cod. Univ. Dubl., Trin. Coll. C. 1 24. Most of these codices are in a bad state. The editor has done his best to construct an intelligible text, with the help of the multifarious readings offered by the six manuscripts. Only when the reading of the first-named codex was evidently wrong, he has departed from it, in some cases even venturing on conjectural emendation.

This tract is of peculiar interest, on account of the great length at which the doctrine of Transubstantiation is discussed by the author. Not seldom it is difficult to see exactly what Wyclif means, as in a number of his assertions he appears to be inconsistent, in one case even using the very word "transubstanciatio" for his own view of the matter. Yet, as Mr Dziewicki points out, the

careful study of *De Apostasia* will clear away most of the seeming contradictions, and will make it evident that what seems contradictory to us was not so to Wyclif.

The tract, as it appears, has not been worked out by Wyclif on any systematic plan. It looks more like a collection of scholastic discussions on the doctrine of Transubstantiation, mixed up with attacks on the friars, as the men "responsible for that heresy," and with doctrinal subjects. After a definition of what "Apostacy" is in Wyclif's view ("a general denomination for every grievous sin, in so far that it loosens the bond of religion between God and man"), the author goes on to examine apostacy first in itself, and then in its chief results. According to his theory, the doctrine of Transubstantiation, as understood by the friars, is the great effect of the apostasy, which, in his opinion, was then general in the Church; consequently, he deals first with the friars as the most notorious apostates. With the third chapter the discussion on the Eucharist comes in. Though the discussions on it are independent of each other, yet it is, as the editor says, not impossible to introduce a certain order among them by classifying them as they stand. The first part (chaps. iii. to vii.) is a general attack upon the Eucharistic theory, as then universally received; then (chaps. viii. to ix.) he deals with the question how far Christ's body may be multiplied in the Eucharist. The tenth chapter is an inquiry into the "quiddity" (essence) of the Sacrament. In the next four chapters (xi. to xiv.) a more detailed attack on the accident theory is given, the various modes of accidents being discussed, and the position taken that none of them can be absolute in the sense required. The author then (in chaps. xv. to xvi.), replying to some treatises written against him, carefully examines all the authorities brought forward by his opponents, tries to explain away their teaching, or to bring it into reasonable agreement with his own views, and adds several very important remarks concerning his doctrine. He winds up with a sort of historical review of the institution of the Mass.

Though Wyclif's views on this matter are of great interest to every student of Church history, the limits of space do not allow me to enter at any length into his arguments. They are given *in extenso* by the editor in his Introduction. I cannot do better, perhaps, than quote the few remarks made on the subject by Mr F. D. Matthew in a letter to the editor, which are much to the point, though I do not consider them to settle the matter definitely:—"The truth is that Wyclif would like to avoid saying *how* Christ's body is present. Christ's institution makes it clear that He is in the Sacrament otherwise than by that universal immanence by which He is in all things. If his opponents would let him, he would be content to say Christ was present sacramentally (as he does say sometimes). 'In

signo,' but not 'Ut in signo,' means that, although His presence is figurative, it is not simply a figure, but has a special efficacy. What that is precisely he cannot tell, and loses himself in trying to express it. He is sure that the current explanations are carnal and wrong, but does not know how to replace them." In Mr Matthew's opinion the "simple reason for this deficiency is that Wyclif did not know what it was, though he thought he knew what it was not."

For reasons which it is needless to mention here the Society could not offer the members for the year 1889 more than one volume. It was again Dr J. Loserth, this man of untiring energy, who came forward with a new (IV.) volume of the *Sermones*. This contains the *Sermones Miscellanei*, *Quadráginta Sermones de Tempore*, *Sermones mixti XXIV*. Its text is based on four Vienna MSS., two Prague MSS., one Dublin MS., and one Lambeth, of which a description is given in the Introduction by the editor. The date of the XXIV. Sermons is the same as that of those previously described. They belong to the last years of Wyclif's life, while the *Quadráginta* must be claimed for the period, "dum stetit in scholis," before he broke into open war with the Church. These forty sermons are written essentially in the spirit of the ruling hierarchy. This is so much the case that a scribe of the fifteenth century, in one of his marginal notes, remarks that "the Wyclif of these forty sermons was a man quite different from himself (as he gave himself in his remaining works), quia, demptis paucissimis, pene in omnibus his scriptis sequitur ecclesiam in fide et ritibus et modo loquendi catholico."

In the XXIV. Sermons the antagonism against the abuses of the Church has a prominent place. Wyclif demands there that the Church should return to its "apostolic" state; that the clergy should live in poverty, like Christ and His apostles; that tithes ought to be withdrawn from wicked priests; that the king of England has the right to confiscate all property in mortmain. He inveighs, too, against the Cæsarism in the Church that has sprung from Constantine's rich endowments, against the abuse of indulgences, auricular confession, but specially against the sinful Papacy and its supporters, the Mendicant Friars. In the *Quadráginta Sermones*, on the other hand, a number of passages occur which are in direct contradiction to occasional assertions in other parts of Wyclif's writing. I can draw the attention of the reader only to a few instances. In one sermon Wyclif upholds the doctrine of auricular confession, explains its usefulness, and tries to support it by reason and the authority of Scripture; he speaks also of the merit of fasting, maintains the Romish doctrine of purgatory, and expresses himself on man's merit before God in a way which

stands in open contradiction to his later teaching about the *Praesciti*.

All these contradictions naturally cause surprise when first read. We must, however, have regard to the fact that the volume consists of two groups of sermons which belong to two quite different periods of the Reformer's life, and which differ very much in subject and extent. The fact that the one group was composed when Wyclif was still an "obedient servant" and a "faithful priest" of the Church explains the apparent incongruity. At any rate, the progress in the theological development of the Doctor Evangelicus, as shown in the two groups of sermons, gives this fourth volume, which completes the great collection of Wyclif's Latin Sermons, its peculiar charm.

In 1890 the Society sent to its members Dr R. A. Poole's edition of Wyclif's *De Dominio Divino*, with an appendix of the first four books of *De Pauperie Salvatoris* by Richard Fitz-Ralph, Archbishop of Armagh, to whose doctrine of dominion Wyclif owes much. Dr Poole's volume, executed with special skill and trustworthiness, as might be expected of so learned a scholar, fills nearly 500 pages. In his Introduction the editor treats with great acumen the usual critical questions, the series of manuscripts used, their condition, value, and mutual relation, the division of the work, its authenticity, date, and fragmentary state. Similar questions with regard to Fitz-Ralph's treatise are next considered. Then follows the text of both works, together with "Additions and Corrections," a "Glossary," and "Two Indices."

I cannot enter here into the details of Wyclif's theory of lordship as expounded in the treatise in question. Dr Poole, in an excellent analysis of the rather complicated subject, describes the various phases of argumentation. I cannot do better than follow him.

At the outset Wyclif declares his intention of entering upon a discussion of the doctrine of *dominium* or lordship, based upon the proof of Holy Scripture. He takes lordship in its narrower sense as superiority, as a habit pertaining only to the rational nature, by virtue of which that nature is said to be set over that which serves it. Lordship and service are thus the two terms of a relation between rational beings. There are things with which it may plausibly be identified. Lordship is not, he says, identical with *right*, since a man may have a right to a thing without obtaining lordship over it; it is simply the basis upon which the relation rests. Again, lordship is not *power*. "No catholic will deny that the power of the keys is committed to the priest, albeit he have none subjected to his power." Power, therefore, may exist without lordship; it may be granted to a man, and take effect when

lordship is superadded ; but it is always implied in lordship. As regards the origin of lordship, it originated with creation, and is, therefore, supported by the Book of Genesis, in which the work of creation is attributed to God, and it is not until the heavens and the earth are finished that the name *Lord* is used. It was not until there were creatures to serve God that He became Lord. God's lordship, therefore, is the immediate result of creation. This lordship calls for consideration before other lordships—of angels, of man, &c.—because it is the measure of all others, surpassing them in its subject, its foundation, its object ; for all creatures are compelled by the very fact of their creation to serve Him. *Whatever we do, we are unprofitable servants, for our best works bring God no profit,* being the gifts of His mere grace. Whatever merit we have comes through His aid, and abounds only to our own indebtedness to Him. His lordship is so mighty and so strong that none can escape His service ; even the sinner serves Him by suffering his due punishment.

As to the question of *necessity and free will*, Wyclif, pursuing his inquiry further, enters on a discussion of the views held on these matters by two teachers who preceded him, Archbishops Fitz-Ralph and Bradwardine. The former of these laid greater stress upon free will, the latter upon necessity. Wyclif himself takes a middle course between the two, by the help of the Aristotelian distinction between that which is absolutely necessary and that which is necessary on a given supposition. God necessitates man, he says, to perform actions which are in themselves neither right nor wrong ; they become right or wrong by man's own free agency. He does not will sin for He wills only that which has being, whereas sin has no being. What He wills is the punishment of sin. Necessity is antecedent to man's will : he is necessitated to will, but free to will what he chooses. Wyclif then attempts to ascertain more closely the relation subsisting between God's will and human action. God's will, he says, is determinate, because He knows beforehand what will come to pass ; it is not conditional, for this would imply that He was uncertain as to the result.

After a lengthy discussion of the essence of creation, maintenance, and government, Wyclif next gives his views on "giving," "receiving," and "lending." The subject of "giving" leads him to a statement which is of importance in connection with his developed doctrine of *feudal lordship*. When a man gives, he remarks, he does not necessarily part with his lordship over the thing given, and this is in a special sense true of God's giving. Once that the notion of feudal lordship is attributed to God, the other element of feudalism, which consists in the separation of ownership from possession, naturally follows. God, as has been seen, is the immediate lord of every creature ; human lordship, therefore, must be held

subject to due service to the lord in chief, and man is but God's steward. Not merely is lordship not necessarily, it is only improperly, proprietary : poverty was introduced by reason of sin ; our Lord and His apostles held no property. *Lending*, in like manner, is only another mode of expressing the way in which God gives, since it has been said that man is only the steward of that of which God is the lord.

In the closing chapters Wyclif discusses the question of *merit* and *grace*. If all a man has is lent to him, his merit is not his own. How can he deserve any reward ? A man can deserve from another man *de condigno*, the reward due to him for his labour ; but from God he can only deserve *de congruo*, that is, ex condecence lege magnifica ac gracioso iuvamine dominantia. Grace is the antecedent condition of such deserving, but the fact that God's help is necessary does not take away from the merit of him who runs his course aright. The merit is of grace and the reward is of grace. The operation of God's grace is the principal cause, and that, while no one can have merit *ex operibus* he can have merit *per opera* by God's grace.

From this short analysis it may be seen how near the Wyclif of the fourteenth century approaches the doctrine of grace maintained by the great Reformers of the sixteenth, in opposition to the Romish teaching on the *opus operatum*. It is this consideration that gives Poole's volume its special value.

The next volume, edited by Dr Rudolf Beer, of Vienna, deals with a philosophical subject.¹ In this volume, of about 320 pages, belonging to the beginning of his literary career (about 1360), Wyclif handles in a scholastic way intricate philosophical questions, which are, I believe, of no special value in the history of philosophical thought. For this reason I abstain from giving an analysis of its contents.

In the following year the indefatigable Dr Loserth again produced his *editio princeps* of Wyclif's *De Eucharistia, Tractatus maior. Accedit Tractatus de Eucharistia et Poenitentia sive de Confessione*. This important work has been transmitted to us in six manuscripts : Codd. Palat. Vindob. 3927, 1337, 3930, 4527 ; Cod. Prag. Univ. III, G. 11 ; and MS. of the Gersdorf Library, Bautzen (Saxony), MS. 80, 7, the last named having been discovered only recently by myself. The edition does not follow the text of any single codex, but is made up from the whole of the manuscript material at hand.

Preceding the text of the tract there is a learned Introduction of upwards of 70 pages. This Introduction, coming from so competent

¹ J. Wyclif, *De Ente Praedicamentali (et) Quaestiones XIII. Logicae et Philosophiae*, edited from the unique Prague MS., for the first time by Dr R. Beer.

and thorough a scholar as Dr Loserth, gives this volume an additional value. On it the Czernowitz professor discusses at length "Wyclif's doctrine concerning the Eucharist," summarises the "contents of the tract," speaks of the "effects produced in Bohemia by the work 'De Eucharistia,'" and finishes with a description of his manuscripts, their mutual relations, and his method of using them.

Of these chapters the first three will, of course, attract the attention of all those who take an interest in Wyclif as a teacher of the Church. Here I can give only the briefest notice of them. In his first chapter Dr Loserth shows, by numerous quotations from older works of Wyclif, that the Reformer, during the last years of his life, wrote no work in which mention of the Eucharist is not made, and that usually he dealt with it at considerable length. While in all these latter writings he opposes with the utmost vehemence the prevailing doctrine of the Church,—which taught that the bread and wine are changed by consecration into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, so that nothing remains but the mere sensible qualities: *accidens sine subiecto*, "accidents without a subject,"—we know (and Loserth makes it good by Wyclif's own words) that for a long time he was far from opposed to this doctrine. In a work, dated 1381, he frankly admits that he "has been for a long time in error, as regards this heresy of accidents without a subject," and says: "Though I once took the utmost pains to explain Transubstantiation in agreement with the sense of the early Church, yet I now see that the modern Church contradicts the Church of former times, and errs in this doctrine." It was very probably after 1380 that he gave up that error. In contradiction of his former belief, he urges with great force mainly two points, to which he returns in his discussion again and again—first, that the bread exists after as before the consecration, neither Transubstantiation, nor Impanation, nor Identification (as the technical terms are) taking place; further, that on the other hand the body of Christ is really present in the Host after consecration. Remaining bread in the natural sense even then, it is in a figurative and sacramental sense Christ's Body. Christ's body and His blood are therefore really and truly present—present in a threefold aspect, virtual, sacramental, and spiritual—and no change in the Host is allowable, but so far as the elements are not mere empty signs but active realities. In receiving Christ's body and blood, we have it not only corporally and substantially (in the elements, figuratively), but also in a truly spiritual manner, by faith. Thereby we partake of the sacramental presence of Christ, which is by itself a miracle produced by the words of consecration. It is the faith of the Church, says Wyclif, that, as Jesus Christ is

at the same time God and man, so the sacrament is at once the body of Christ and bread; bread in the natural, Christ's body in the sacramental sense. Or, to state it more briefly, the sacrament of the altar is Christ's blood and body under the form of bread and wine.¹ For the present, I must content myself with this short outline of Wyclif's Eucharistic views, which, as Loserth shows, are fully borne out by the Reformer's teachings as presented to us in *De Eucharistia*.

Dr Loserth then goes on to show how Wyclif came to change his theological views on this subject. He finds that it is Wyclif's enthusiasm for the Word of God that made him a "heretic" of the then Church. He saw that the doctrine of Transubstantiation did not tally with the teachings and the spirit of Holy Writ. On the other hand, he would also raise his voice against this theological phenomenon, because it was spoiled by certain "heathen ideas," which had crept into the theology of Church teachers, and were gaining ground every day. According to the declaration of these "interested promoters," every priest had the power to "make the body of God." Now, the idea that a priest, sinful man though he was, could make God, appeared blasphemous to Wyclif: first, because it ascribes to the priest an unnatural power, by which a creature gives being to his Creator, a sinner to the Holy of Holies; second, because it is degrading to God to say that He, the Eternal One, can be created many times every day; and last, because by this false doctrine the Holy Sacrament is profaned, and the abomination of desolation reigns in high places. "The Host, he complains in several places, is worshipped, the creature instead of the Creator." He denounces in violent language the idolatry that takes place in the modern Church, where the Host is not merely honoured, but openly adored, whereas adoration is only due to the eternal God. This adoration of the Host is yet further aggravated by the fact that divine honours are paid to an object which is said to be only an "accident without substantiality." It is worse than the fetish worship of the heathen, because these modern "sign-worshippers," who spread the idolatry, well know who is really their God. He repeatedly calls them priests of Baal and the like.

As to the time when Wyclif avowed this "heresy," Dr Loserth gives some interesting extracts from an Essay by F. D. Matthew, who, from several arguments stated by Loserth at length, is in-

¹ I am glad to notice that this analysis of Wyclif's doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, given by Loserth on the basis of this important publication, is in close agreement and almost verbal conformity with that which I gave in my book: "Wiclif und seine Zeit," Gotha, Perthes, published at a time (1884) when none of Wyclif's tracts bearing on the question of Transubstantiation had been published by the Society.—Comp. "Wiclif und s. Zeit," pp. 180-183.

clined to think that so early as in the summer of 1380 (not 1381, as hitherto has been assumed) Wyclif had changed his mind with regard to the theory of the mediæval Church.

In a learned essay on the "Taborites' doctrine of the Lord's Supper," Dr Loserth then goes on to remark that, of all the Wyclifian theories that appeared in Prague in the last decade of the fourteenth century, none roused the people of Bohemia to such a pitch of excitement as his Eucharistic views. Loserth proves this at some length, and shows, by numerous quotations from the works of the Bohemian Reformer, that the latter simply accepted the teaching of the Englishman by inserting Wyclif's argumentation into his own books. This far-going influence of Wyclif upon Hus is confirmed by the statement of his contemporaries, both friendly and hostile. But, on the other hand, it must be admitted that Hus did not hold these views very long. It is, Loserth says, quite clear, from all his declarations at the Council of Constance, that he had then abandoned them. He even denied that he ever held them, a statement which, as can be proved, is not exact. It was not the Calixtines, the moderate Husites, but the extreme party, the Taborites, that took up the doctrine of Wyclif, which had been given up by the former. The Taborites, therefore, appear to be the only true Wyclifists; they alone adhered faithfully to his belief concerning the Lord's Supper.

We now all know that Wyclif's doctrine, which is presented in its full form in *De Eucharistia*, kindled a great conflagration in Bohemia, and gave rise to a rich literature, the sources of which must henceforward be traced, not to Hus and his friends, but to Wyclif, the Englishman.

• Here I must come to a close. The tract, *De Eucharistia*, is the last publication of the Society. For 1893, Mr Dziewicki's edition of *De Blasphemia* is expected. The text of *De Simonia*, under the editorship of Herr Herzberg-Fränkell, is also all set while I write this. Dr Furnivall, who never fails to encourage and urge on the editors in their difficult task, has in the meantime been careful to distribute all the remaining works of Wyclif among competent scholars. Wyclif's *Logica*, *Logicæ Continuacio*, and *De Ente* will be undertaken by Mr Dziewicki; *De Civili Dominio*, lib. II. by Dr R. L. Poole; *De Potestate Papæ* by Dr A. Patera; the *Opus Evangelicum* by Dr Loserth; the *Miscellanies I.* by Rev. H. Schnabel, of Dresden; the *Miscellanies II.* by Mr C. Sayle; *De Actibus Animæ*, again by Mr M. H. Dziewicki; while Wyclif's great work, *De Veritate Scripturæ Sacræ*, filling upwards of 500 pages, is in my own hands. I have copied the text from a Vienna codex, finished all the collations, and have completed about a third of the

editorial work. On account of the duties connected with the official appointment on which I entered a few years ago, I have had to lay aside my work for a considerable period. But I hope to take it up again now.

Thus, by the strenuous and never tiring labours of Dr Furnivall and Mr Matthew, the great work is moving on. Of Wyclif's *Systematic Theology*, including the relation of Church and State, more especially of his *Summa Theologia*, in twelve volumes, about the first half has been published; the rest of the *Summa* will at least take seven octavo volumes. The splendid collection of the Reformer's *Sermones* has been edited in four volumes by Dr Loserth. The *Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount* (Matt. xxiii. to xxv.), containing invective akin to Luther's, is now at press and will be ready early this year. The *Logic and Philosophy*, the chief section of which is *De Ente*, and which, together with *De Eucharistia*, had most influence upon the Bohemian movement, will take probably five volumes, of which the first, *Logica and Logicae Continuacio*, is nearly through the press. Besides these main subjects there are still in manuscript some minor ones, viz., *Protests, Disputations, and Epistles*, and works on *Church Government and Endowments*, which will probably take two volumes each.

Much has been done, and done with great success, but much remains to be done. Not a few of Wyclif's works, and among them some of great importance, still lie buried in manuscript. The managers of the Society, therefore, appeal to all those who "care for the religion, the freedom, the language, and the history of England, for aid in the work they have undertaken. *No party-feeling whatever enters into the Society's plan. The only desire is to do England's long-neglected duty to the memory of a great English worthy.*" Unfortunately the assistance outside certain literary circles in England and Germany has not been altogether satisfactory. Possibly the information given on the foregoing pages, together with the fact that the great undertaking rests now on a firm basis, and moves on at a steady pace, may gain for the Society some new friends.

RUDOLF BUDDENSIEG.

Amos : an Essay in Exegesis.

By H. G. Mitchell, Professor in Boston University. Boston : Bartlett & Co. 8vo, pp. 209. Price 5s.

THE modest title of this work tends to conceal its true character and merits. In reality, it is an excellent commentary on the writings of the prophet, arranged under the following divisions:—Introductory Studies; Translation and Comments; and Supple-

mentary Studies,—the last forming an appendix of very full and thorough discussions entitled Amos and the Pentateuch, the Theology of Amos, and Amos among the Prophets. The work is the outcome of careful preparation and repeated study by the author for his classes during several sessions; and the fruit of this continued labour is here presented in an orderly and attractive form. The serviceable comments contain a large amount of matter drawn from many sources—including even very recent authorities—and lucidly arranged, while the Introductory Studies are written in a style so smooth and polished that the cursory reader may fail to perceive the art and pains expended in reducing this particular portion of the work to its present form. The philological remarks, which are concise, and, generally speaking, highly judicious and valuable, have been relegated to the margin as foot-notes; in these, however, the scholarly reader might sometimes at least have been referred to other grammars besides that of Gesenius; indeed, the narrow limits here visible are in marked contrast to the abundant references to authorities in other departments. Sometimes (as at the mention of Moab, p. 76, *f.*) the annotation seems overdone, and the abundance of information given may rather tend to distract the reader. Nevertheless, such a valuable “Essay in Exegesis” may well be heartily welcomed.

JAMES KENNEDY.

**Inspiration. Eight Lectures on the Early History [and
Origin of the Doctrine of Biblical Inspiration.
Being the Bampton Lectures for 1893.**

*By W. Sanday, M.A., D.D., LL.D. London: Longmans. 8vo,
pp. xxiv. 464. Price 16s.*

THE Bampton Lectures for 1893 have been looked for with high expectations. Nor will these expectations be disappointed, whatever may be thought of the adequacy of their main conclusions as an answer to the problems under discussion. They are written with all their author's wonted ease and simplicity of style, with the assured voice of an ample and matured scholarship, with an easy command of the mass of facts which enter into the questions at issue, in a spirit of perfect sincerity and modesty, and with the happy gift of entering into the mind of an opponent and appreciating his position. This last gift, by no means a very common one, makes Professor Sanday's criticisms, however keen and pronounced, always sympathetic, and for that reason more convincing. The interest of the book, too, goes far beyond its general results. In following out the argument which leads to these results,

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Professor Sanday has a great deal that is of importance to say, and many criticisms to deliver, on a variety of questions in New Testament study, on which he is entitled to speak with authority, and on which one is glad to have his opinion expressed. These things, as might be expected from one who has won so high a position in that department of scholarship, are among the most attractive portions of the book.

The object which these Lectures set before them is to "answer the question, What it is which gives our Bible its hold and authority over us, and how the conception of that authority grew and took shape in the Christian consciousness." Nothing could be worthier or more opportune than to give satisfaction on questions so vital to minds which feel the pressure of discussion all around them, and eagerly look for such satisfaction. And to a large extent the book is calculated to do this. If it does not furnish a final or complete solution, it will do much to help reverent and thoughtful men to adjust themselves to a time of changing opinion, and to see how the worth which they have been accustomed to attach to the Bible remains unlesened, though traditional ideas regarding it have to give place to others. It will do this, not merely by its positive conclusions, but by the insight which it gives into the whole conditions of the problem, and the way in which it deals with these. Taking the authority of the Bible to be derived from that quality in it which is commonly called *Inspiration*, it teaches the inquirer to do these two things—to go to the writings themselves, and see what idea of their peculiar character can be gathered from them, and to examine the record of history in order to ascertain what conception of the unique value of the books was formed in ancient times, and how far our own conceptions on the same subject correspond with that, and can claim to be valid.

To give additional force and security to his investigation, Professor Sanday combines the analytic method with the synthetic. He looks first at the history of the doctrine of Inspiration during its formative period, which he naturally takes to close about 400 A.D., and from this date he travels backwards towards the origins. He then reverses the process, and beginning with the origins he moves forwards to a constructive theory. In pursuing the first of these two methods he fixes attention on certain great landmarks in the history of the doctrine. It is not difficult to recognise these landmarks in the history of the New Testament Canon, and the years 400 A.D. and 200 A.D. will be generally allowed to form epoch-making stages—the former the stage at which the Canon of the New Testament may be said to be fixed, the latter that at which a "solid nucleus" appears of books accepted as sacred, with others occupying a tentative position. But Professor Sanday is careful to

explain that in speaking of the Canon as *fixed*, he does not use the word in its strictest sense, and does not mean to suggest that any Œcumenical Council or imperial ecclesiastical authority had defined it even by 400 A.D. His statement on this is most precise, and it is of essential consequence to the whole inquiry. He sees that in point of fact no Council or sufficient ecclesiastical authority ever did effectively define the Canon,—not even the Trullan Council of 692; that the formation of the Canon was due much less to synodical determinations than to the “drift of circumstances set in motion by individual leaders of the Church;” that in the East it arose by “the agreement of a few leading authorities;” that in the West it was influenced much more by the predominance of the Vulgate than by any decisions of Carthage; and that the peculiar position of the Syrian Church in relation to the extent of the Canon was determined more by the Peschitto and its contents than by anything else. These facts are put very clearly and decidedly by Professor Sanday, and it is well that they should be understood. For what is meant by them is this, that it was with the fixing of the Canon of Scripture much as it was with the formation of the Church’s doctrine. The doctrinal statements embodied in the Creeds were not so many *formulae* devised first by the ecclesiastical authority, and then imposed upon the members of the Church. They were things which were first in the consciousness of the Christian people, and then in the Creeds; the synods and symbols of the Church accepting them, giving fixed form to what the Christian people first felt to be the truth, and taking over in various cases the terms which had proved themselves in the usage of the people to be the fittest out of several to express what they recognised to be contained in their faith and realised in their experience. And in like manner the Canon was not the creation of the Church as a corporate body, but a thing that formed itself by the instinct and experience of the Christian people, by the discernment and action of individual thinkers occupying leading positions in the Church at important turning-points, and by the influence of early Versions and collections of books made for public reading. It was the result of a process of a very human and intelligible order. The steps of that process we can trace, though the reasons or motives at work in it can be only partially grasped. And behind it, as Professor Sanday very distinctly recognises, we see the operation of a Higher, directing Mind.

A similar analytic account is given of the Old Testament Canon. He takes it as we know it to have been in the first century of our era. He admits that no such distinctly marked epochs present themselves in the history of the Old Testament Canon as are indicated by the years 400 A.D. and 200 A.D. in the case of the New

Testament. But he points to the decision of Jamnia at the end of the first Christian century; to the witness of the three great groups of writings of the same century, those of the New Testament, Philo, and Josephus, as presupposing the idea of a Canon; and to the titles given to the books and the peculiar exegesis of the books as implying a sacred text. As to the contents of the Canon, so far as one existed at that date, he indicates with what qualification the statement is to be taken that there existed then two Canons, a shorter in Palestine and a longer in the Diaspora. He then carries the inquiry back to the various facts which speak of the currency of a three-fold division of the Old Testament books, and finds in this, as others now do, evidence of the fact that there were "three successive layers or stages in the history of the collection." He expresses his agreement farther with the majority of scholars who hold that first the Law books were set apart as a collection by themselves, this earliest Canon being "practically complete at the time of the promulgation of the Pentateuch by Ezra and Nehemiah in the year 444 B.C."; that next was formed a collection of the Prophets, the second Canon being completed sometime in the third century B.C., and not so late as Wildeboer puts it, viz., at 200; and that the collection of the Kethubim and the formation of the third Canon, though much more difficult to determine, may have its *terminus ad quem* not later than 100 B.C. The facts on which this version of the historical process of the collection and separation of those three groups of sacred writings are based, are very clearly and accurately summarised. But when he proceeds to ask on "what positive principle the Old Testament had its lines of demarcation drawn so clearly," he has to confess the absence of contemporary evidence; and reverting to the position from which he started, namely, the first Christian century, with the ideas then current, he discovers one ruling idea, that of Prophecy, and takes this provisionally as the key to the problem.

This being so, he follows the course which most naturally suggests itself when proceeding to the constructive side of his investigation. He begins with the Old Testament, and selects the prophetic writings as the section to start with. He speaks largely and well of the Prophets, the conspicuous figures among them, their ministry, the influence under which they spoke and acted, the distinction between a higher order and a lower, the vast importance of the transition from spoken to written Prophecy. He notices, in particular, the significance of the fact that the Prophets claimed to speak not of themselves but by a divine constraint, and with an authority which they founded on the fact that they had a message and an intuition which came to them from God. And he puts with great force the reasons which we have for saying that in this

the Prophets were right—reasons drawn from what we see of the prophetic consciousness, from the character of their teaching, the universal credit given to their claims by their contemporaries, the unanimity of their testimony, and the difficulty of accounting for the case on any other supposition. He bids us look at such men as Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah, at their place in history, at what their writings have been to Israel and to mankind, and say whether we can be wrong “if we endorse the claim which they make, in no spirit of boastfulness, or self-seeking, to be chosen vessels for receiving and transmitting the revealed will of God?”

The growth of the Written Word is next traced, with the history of the Law and that of the collection of the Hagiographa. All through this section of the book Professor Sanday has to come across critical questions. Towards these he maintains a tentative attitude. He refuses to commit himself to all the positions of the critics. He feels that in many things men like Kuenen and Wellhausen push matters beyond the mark, and he keeps an open mind to what further inquiry in archæology and in Biblical studies generally may have to offer. But he is of opinion that in the broader issues the critical construction of the Old Testament must prevail. He admits the inconclusiveness of Jewish tradition where it is not supported by internal evidence. He recognises the composite character of many of the books and the witness which they bear, not only to the operations of editors upon them, but to the presence in them of matter of different dates and authorships. He acknowledges that the Pentateuch contains “a considerable element which, as we now have it, is not earlier than the Captivity,” and that the book of Deuteronomy was composed “not very long before its promulgation by Josiah in 621 B.C.” With respect to Daniel, again, he confesses it to be “difficult not to feel that the critical view has won the day;” that the name of Daniel, therefore, is only assumed; that the book was written under Antiochus Epiphanes, and is not to be taken as history.

The question of the *genesis* of the New Testament books occupies two lectures, which are of marked interest. Here Professor Sanday is on very familiar ground, and he moves over it with a firm tread. He finds the point of issue for this part of his inquiry in the opening verses of Luke's Gospel, which he refers to the years between 75 A.D. and 80 A.D. Noticing how much they presuppose in the way of earlier evangelical material, he reviews in a very clear and masterly fashion the Synoptic problem, and the conditions under which the first forms of evangelic narrative were composed and copied. He then proceeds to state the case as regards the Gospels in the two periods 80-140 A.D., and 140-200 A.D., bringing out the facts that the four begin to come dis-

tinctly into view from about 125 A.D., and that within the second period the use of these four narratives becomes more exclusive. He passes on to trace in a similar way the *genesis* of Acts, the Epistles, and the Apocalypse. In these chapters there are many things which we should gladly speak of at length, did space permit. Nothing could be better put than the statement of the difference between the condition of things before and that after the fateful year 70 A.D., and the almost inevitable inference that the bulk of the matter contained in our Synoptic Gospels must be of earlier date than that year. The defence of *Acts*, too, is frank and convincing. It is not denied that the book presents some considerable difficulties—its account of the gift of tongues, as compared with that in 1 Cor. xiv.; the case of Theudas; the omission of the journey, Acts xi. 30, in Gal. i.; and the report of Paul's reception by the Jews at Rome in the last chapter. But Professor Sanday speaks with great decision of the mistaken standards by which German criticism tries the book; and exposes the weakness of the destructive arguments drawn from the writer's imagined inability to grasp the antagonisms of the period, the discrepancies between his statements and Paul's, and his supposed desire to balance Peter against Paul, and to reduce the differences between the Apostle of the Gentiles and the Twelve. Among many other points of interest we may refer to Professor Sanday's rejection of Harnack and Vischer's theory of the Apocalypse; his contention that the Epistles ascribed to Paul hang together in such a way that, if it is once conceded that Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, and 1 Thessalonians are genuine, it becomes highly probable that the others also are Pauline; and his exposition of Paul's claim to an inspiration which was most real, though it did not preclude all weaknesses, and was not in every case of the same degree. The one thing to which we should take exception in this part of the book is the statement on the Epistle of James, which seems to us to set aside too easily the reasons for preferring the early date to the later.

But we must ask now, what is the result of these investigations as a whole? It is the barest justice to say that the historical inquiry in all its parts, but especially in the New Testament section, is carried through with a care, a sagacity, a freedom from exaggeration, special pleading, or theorising, which are seldom found in such measure in the treatment of these questions. And it will be felt, we think, that where Professor Sanday and Professor Harnack come into conflict, it is the former that has the advantage. The German scholar's theory of the formation of the New Testament Canon as a sudden event, due to exigencies arising from the pressure of Gnosticism or Montanism, will not endure the sober and searching criticism of his English brother. Harnack's theory,

indeed, as Professor Sanday finds, is by no means free of ambiguity, the terms in which it is given being far from uniform. But if it is what it is stated to be in his *Das neue Testament um das Jahr 200*, it has against it not only the consideration that *sudden* events such as Harnack imagines are not much given to happen in actual history, and are much less accommodating than active theorising minds could wish them to be; but also the fact that the appearance of *suddenness* in the emergence of a Canon of New Testament books is due simply to the comparative lack of relevant literature between 150 and 170 A.D. If we go back to the period between 95 and 140 A.D., we are in a different condition in that respect, and find much that "points forward," as Professor Sanday puts it, to the state of things which is seen in the last quarter of the second century. Not less convincing is his disposal of the exaggerated use made of the *Alogi* in the controversy over the Fourth Gospel.

It is not, however, only the history of the rise of the books of Scripture, their formation into collections, and their elevation to a position of authority, that is given with admirable point in these Lectures. The merit of the book lies largely in this, that it grapples with the more difficult questions of principle which underlie the history, and attempts to get at the reasons which led to the canonisation of these books, and of these only. With this Professor Sanday has also to give his view of Inspiration. Has he been wholly successful in this? He does not profess to construct any complete theory of Inspiration. But he gives an account of it, the essence of which is that it was not a uniform influence. He falls back, in short, on the old idea of degrees of Inspiration, which has passed out of favour. That theory, it must be allowed, has something to say for itself as an explanation of the phenomena presented by Scripture. But, as it is put by Professor Sanday, it seems to be chargeable with all the difficulties formerly alleged against it, and with these perhaps even in larger measure. For the idea of these Lectures is, that while there are parts of Scripture in which the Divine element is so strong as to make them different in *kind* from all other books, there are others in which this "difference fines down gradually, till it is hardly a difference in kind at all." Inspiration has to be found in all the books in order to justify their place in the Canon. But in some books the Inspiration is like a blaze of light, while in others it is admitted that it melts almost into darkness.

But if this is so, it is extremely difficult to see how certain books got a place in the Canon at all; how some books were preferred to others; and how the canonicity of not a few of them can be shown to be well founded to us of the present day. Professor Sanday is justified in starting from the *Prophetic* gift for the Old Testament

Canon and the *Apostolic* gift for the New Testament Canon. And if all the writings could be shown to be the works of Prophets and Apostles, the matter might be simple enough. But how is it that books which are not of Prophetic or Apostolic authorship should have a place in the Canon? Professor Sanday sees how unsatisfactory it is to say that these were at least *indirectly* Prophetic and Apostolic compositions; and the alternative explanation that their privileged position was due more to their reception by certain Churches than to Apostolic authorship, is really no explanation. And what is to be made of the canonicity of such books as *Chronicles*, *Esther*, *Song of Songs*, *Daniel*? Professor Sanday can only say that these are books in which the Divine element exists, though it is at the *minimum*. But he has the utmost difficulty in defining what that element is. In the case of *Chronicles* he finds it in a certain interpretation of historical events and a certain "warmth of religious feeling" which exists alongside "imperfect historical method and defective sense of historical accuracy." Of *Esther* he says that it "probably never professed to be in the strict sense history," and that it "does not even point a very exalted moral." He takes the *Song of Songs*, as now understood, to be "an idyll of faithful human love, and nothing more"—a book, in short, which "contributes nothing to the sum of revelation." How, then, does he justify its place in the Canon? Only by discovering in it "a proof of the catholicity of Scripture," and by pointing to a moral lesson which it teaches. So he accounts for the inclusion of *Ecclesiastes*, with its pessimistic strain, only by referring to the absolute sincerity of its author, and to the fact that he "comes back at last to the ancient faith." And he explains the place given to the pseudonymous *Daniel*, who furnishes us with homily instead of history, by the Messianic hope which fired him. These are precarious reasons for the canonisation of such books. Even if they were more convincing, they would still leave the question unanswered why these are preferred and books like *Ecclesiasticus* and *Wisdom* excluded; while the same mode of explanation also leaves untouched certain obvious problems of the New Testament Canon—the canonisation of Hebrews and Acts, the inclusion of a book like 2 Peter, of whose genuineness Professor Sanday is himself so doubtful, and the like. Must we not say that something is overlooked? May that not be the principle of *organic function* which was recognised by Luther? Professor Sanday himself speaks of the canonical books as *classical* books. That means much. For they are classical in the sense that they are monuments of revelation and memorials of the Church of God. But they are memorials not only of the faith of the Church of Israel and the Church of Christ, but also of their history. May

it not be that the reason for the canonical place of certain of the books in question lies here?

The last of these weighty Lectures contains some wise and opportune remarks on the peril of the position to which those commit themselves who, in matters like those of Inspiration and the Canon, will have either all or nothing. It also touches with a reverent and restrained hand the question of the relation of our Lord's authority to the problems of criticism. Professor Sanday asks why a certain "neutral zone" should not be recognised in Christ's teaching. He refers also to the affirmation of a measure of limitation in His knowledge as the explanation of certain well-known difficulties as between the findings of criticism and the apparent meaning of His words. Professor Sanday himself seems now to incline to the former of these two positions. But both have their place. Christ's own words seem themselves to point to a "neutral zone" in His teaching; within which, however, nothing can be said to come which takes the form of *inculcation*. And neither a just reading of the Gospel narratives in which the Christ of history moves before us, nor an adequate doctrine of His person, seems possible without the acknowledgment of a limitation in His knowledge. And why this should cause all the difficulty which it does cause to some, is hard to understand. It is, after all, but a part of a much larger mystery and a much heavier difficulty—the mystery of the Incarnation itself, the difficulty of apprehending how the Infinite could in any way come within the rank and measure of the finite.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Notices.

THE curious and perplexing phenomena of the text of *Codex Bezae* have been forcing themselves anew upon the attention of scholars. Among others, Professor Ramsay devotes some space to the question in his *The Church in the Roman Empire*, pointing to certain facts which he thinks indicate that this text is founded on a revision made within Catholic circles in Asia Minor. Mr Rendell Harris, of Cambridge, has also published an elaborate *Study of Codex Bezae*, in which he stands for the Latinization of the Bezan text, rejects Professor Hort's opinion that the Latin of the Codex has been "forced into agreement with the Greek," and endeavours to prove that the Greek text exhibits a "series of re-translations from the Latin." Stimulated by Mr Rendell Harris's work, and being doubtful of the soundness of its methods and conclusions, Mr Chase,¹ of

¹ The Old Syriac Element in the Text of Codex Bezae. London: Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. xvi. 160. Price 7s. 6d. net.

Christ's College, Cambridge, now takes up the investigation of the textual puzzles of this Codex, and urges the presence of a Syriac influence as the real explanation of many of them. The first chapter of the book is devoted to a searching examination of the Bezan text of the Book of *Acts*, following the order in which its characteristic readings occur. This is done with great patience, skill, and ingenuity. It leaves the impression that Mr Chase's view of the problem has much to say for itself. Then test passages are noticed and commented on as passages which make out a *prima facie* case, and it must be admitted that they go far to do so. The conclusions which Mr Chase thinks the facts point to are these—that the Bezan text is the result of “an assimilation of a Greek text to a Syriac text”; that this Syriac text is specially characterised by a tendency to “harmonise the text of the Acts with other parts of Scripture”; and that it is not the Syriac Vulgate, but an *Old Syriac* text that thus lies behind that of Codex D. He admits that there may be passages (e.g., Acts xiii. 10) in which the influence of the Latin appears. But he contends that his investigations establish the truth of Dr Hort's position, that “for the criticism of the Greek text the Latin reading has here no independent authority.” The argument is of necessity of a technical nature and difficult for those to estimate who are not professed Syriac scholars as well as textual critics. But the evidence, both internal and external, is dealt with by Mr Chase in a very careful and persuasive way. The book, as a whole, makes a fresh and important contribution to this difficult question, and will give a new turn to the discussion. The second chapter is of great interest, taking up as it does the questions of the date, birthplace, and affinities of the Bezan text. The main conclusions are, that this text existed at least as early as 180 A.D.; that it originated in the Church of Antioch; and that the “Western” text is thus an Antiochene text. There is an interesting appendix on Mark xvi. 9-20, showing that this paragraph was used by Tatian like any other undisputed section of the Gospel; that it was treated as by Mark as early as the middle of the second century in an Old Syriac version and a Greek text assimilated to that; that it was used by Justin before the middle of that century; and that “probably still earlier it is alluded to by Aristides.”

Under the title of *The Fifth Gospel*,¹ Dr Otts of Greenboro, Alabama, gives a series of studies on Bethlehem, Nazareth, Bethabara, Cana, Jerusalem, Capernaum, and other memorable places in the Holy

¹ *The Fifth Gospel: the Land where Jesus lived.* By J. M. P. Otts, D.D. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. 367. Price 5s.

Land. They embody the results of travel, but their great object is to show how the Gospels appear when they are read in the "light and shades of the land where Jesus lived and taught." The result which the author brings out is that "the land of Jesus so harmonises with the four written Gospels, and so unfolds and enlarges their meaning, that it forms around them a Fifth Gospel." The book makes pleasant reading. The sketches of locality and incident are attractive, and help the untravelled reader to a more vivid and adequate apprehension of many passages in the Gospel histories. The volume is not without some things which are curious or disputable or strained, as when it touches on the Fall, and interprets the first sin as a family sin involving the divorce of our first parents. But we are not surprised to learn from the preface that the book reached its third edition in six months.

We have already had an opportunity of speaking of the value of Mr M'Clymont's *The New Testament and its Writers*¹ in its original form of a *Guild and Bible Class Text-book*. It is made still more valuable and attractive as issued now in larger and more handsome form, with a variety of useful notes and a series of carefully executed representations of important manuscripts, including Mrs Lewis's recently discovered Syriac Codex. The book, which is a marvel of cheapness, gives a very careful and readable account of the outstanding questions, and deserves to find its way into public favour.

Professor Robertson, of the University of Glasgow, makes a very able addition to the series of *Guild and Bible Class Text-books*.² He begins with a clear and satisfactory statement on the formation and transmission of the Canon of the Old Testament, and then gives the main points in the history of the Hebrew Scriptures as a whole, and of each book by itself. The author writes with his accustomed moderation and with his well-known command of these subjects. He has given his best to the preparation of this volume. The result is a handbook presenting a remarkably distinct and complete outline of the contents of the Old Testament books and the questions connected with them.

We receive with great satisfaction a new issue of *The Cambridge Companion to the Bible*³ in long primer. The larger type will make the volume, with its invaluable collection of papers on the books of Scripture, their history, chronology, antiquities, &c., still more useful to a large class of readers.

¹ By Rev. J. A. M'Clymont, B.D. London: Adam & Charles Black. 8vo, pp. viii. 288. Price 3s. 6d.

² *The Old Testament and its Contents*. London: Adam & Charles Black. Pp. 162. Price 6d. net.

³ London: C. J. Clay & Sons. 8vo, pp. 746. Price 5s.

Mr Stead's *The Kingdom of God*¹ is a suggestive study of a great subject. The author begins with a brief reference to the place occupied by the idea of the "Kingdom of God" in the Christian religion, and to the fact that its roots are in the Old Testament revelation. He proceeds to show how this Divine Society or institution took shape, from the time when Israel became a nation through the deliverance from Egypt, and to recapitulate the great utterances of the Prophets on its nature and its future. Having described it in its Old Testament form, he goes on to give a careful exposition of the chief points in our Lord's own teaching and in that of His Apostles on the same theme. This is followed by two valuable appendices, containing summaries of the definitions of the Kingdom of God which have been offered by a long line of thinkers from Augustine onwards, and a sketch of the "Witness of Imperial History" to it. The whole is written in a clear and vigorous style. The skilled teacher will find it a stimulating text-book.

A small but elegant volume of sermonettes, simple, pointed, and thoroughly suited for young people, comes from the Rev. George Milligan, B.D., Edinburgh.² The Rev. J. Wood Brown of Gordon publishes a valuable and interesting volume on *The Covenanters of the Merse*.³ The particulars are taken from the records of the time, and from such traditions as still survive. The author can claim with justice to have added very considerably to our knowledge of the Border Covenanters, their campaigns, the oppression of the local Courts after Bothwell, the rise of field meetings, the last conventicle at Greencleuch, and the character and actions of the more prominent men. An appendix gives the *Fugitive Roll of May 5th, 1684*, and the *Porteous Roll for Berwickshire, 20th Sept. 1684*. The book, which is daintily printed on antique laid paper, is a careful, original, and valuable piece of work, which will be welcome to every Scottish patriot.

The anonymous *Life of Robert Rodolph Suffield*⁴ gives a simple and affecting account, well worth reading, of the religious experience of one who began as a devoted Dominican Missioner, passed through an acute period of unsettlement, and ended as a Unitarian preacher.

¹ A Plan of Study. In three parts. I. The Kingdom in Israel. II. The Kingdom in the Synoptic Sayings of Jesus. III. The Kingdom in Apostolic Times. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. 78, 78, 94. Price 6d. each, or in one vol., 1s. 6d.

² *Golden Nails, &c.* Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier. Post 8vo, pp. 188. Price 1s. 6d.

³ Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier. Post 8vo, pp. 259. Price 2s. 6d.

⁴ London: Williams & Norgate. Pp. vi. 325. Price 4s. 6d.

Another *Life*, of a different order, but of distinct interest, especially to the theologian, is that of Jacob Vernet of Geneva.¹

The author of *Jesus, the Carpenter of Nazareth*, follows up that very successful effort by another with the title of *A Child's Religion*,² which gives, in the simplest and most befitting language, an outline of Christianity such as the young can at once understand.

Bunyan's *Holy War*³ appears in a very tasteful and handy form, with a prefatory note by Dr Alexander Whyte of Edinburgh, than whom none claim a better title to speak of the worth of the book.

The same publishers send another elegant volume, *The Life and Letters of James Renwick*,⁴ which will have a cordial welcome from all interested in the story of Covenanting times. The story of the Life is mainly given through the Letters, of which we have sixty-eight. The collecting of these has been a labour of love, and they are quick with interest. In giving us an edition far more accurate and adequate than we have hitherto possessed, Mr Carslaw has done a work which has long waited for some competent and sympathetic hand to take it up, and many will thank him for it.

A pleasing volume of *Prayer-Thoughts*, treating certain names and titles of Christ devotionally, is issued by the Rev. W. A. Garland, M.A., of Brixton.⁵ The *Biblical Illustrator* proceeds apace under the editorship of the Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M.A. We have received the second volume on the Epistle to the *Hebrews*,⁶ three volumes on the Book of *Acts*,⁷ and the volume on *James*.⁸ The illustrative and expository material is drawn from a great variety of sources, ancient and modern. Busy men, who need such aids and know how to use them, will find much to help them in these rich and well chosen gatherings from the best thought on those important sections of the New Testament.

Among other books which deserve a more adequate notice than can at present be given them, we mention these:—An exact and very readable translation of Professor Julius Kaftan's *The Truth of*

¹ Vie de Jacob Vernet, Théologien Genevois, 1698-1789. Par E. de Budé. Lausanne: Bridel & Cie. Pp. 304. Price, F. 3.50.

² London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 126. Price 2s.

³ Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier. Post 8vo, pp. xii. 311. Price 2s.

⁴ By Rev. W. H. Carslaw, M.A., Helensburgh. Post 8vo, pp. viii. 267. Price 2s. 6d.

⁵ London: Elliot Stock. Pp. 100.

⁶ London: Nisbet & Co. 8vo, pp. 685. Price 7s. 6d.

⁷ London: Nisbet & Co. 8vo, pp. 722, 639, 505. Price 7s. 6d. each.

⁸ London: Nisbet & Co. 8vo, pp. 514. Price 7s. 6d.

the *Christian Religion*,¹ one of the most important productions of the Ritschlian School of Theology, and of special interest for the way in which it treats the proof of the truth of Christianity as something "connected in the closest manner with the whole organisation of Christian faith and life at a given time;" an excellent English version of Dr C. von Orelli's *The Twelve Minor Prophets*,² a concise, cautious, and useful account of the contents of these prophetic writings and their authors; and a translation of Dr Adolph Harnack's *Outlines of the History of Dogma*.³ The *Grundriss*, of which this last is a rendering, is of great value as a digest of the distinguished author's larger *Dogmengeschichte*, and as a guide to the study of the important, and in many respects novel and disputable, history of the formation of the great doctrinal statements of the Churches, which is given in all the wealth of its vast details in that elaborate work. A good English rendering of the *Grundriss* would be greatly appreciated by many students. But this translation, though it will be of some use, comes far short of what is needed. It is the work of one who is not sufficiently at home either with the subject or with the language. The original is always intelligible; for the most part, indeed, it is admirably clear and direct in its statements. The translation is often a poor and stilted, sometimes an almost unintelligible, representation of the original.

The late Professor Moeller's *History of the Christian Church* has deservedly taken a first place among works of its kind. The second part,⁴ embracing the Mediæval period, now appears in an English version by the hand of the Rev. Andrew Rutherford, to whom we also owe the translation of the first part. The volume is one of great interest, covering as it does the whole march of events ecclesiastical from Gregory the Great to the Renaissance. It deals with a section of Church history in which the student greatly needs reliable guidance. It has all the qualities which made the former volume so suitable as a text-book—clear and concise statement, a sufficient

¹ Translated from the German under the author's supervision, by George Ferries, B.D. With a Prefatory Note by Robert Flint, D.D., LL.D. In two volumes. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. viii. 357; vi. 445. Price 16s. net.

² Translated by Rev. J. S. Banks, Headingley College, Leeds. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. vii. 405. Price 10s. 6d.

³ Translated by Edwin Knox Mitchell, M.A., Professor of Graeco-Roman and Eastern Church History in Hartford Theological Seminary. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 567. Price 7s. 6d.

⁴ History of the Christian Church in the Middle Ages. By the late Dr Wilhelm Moeller, Professor Ordinarius of Church History in the University of Kiel. Translated from the German, by Andrew Rutherford, B.D. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Large 8vo, pp. xii. 561. Price 15s.

reference to authorities, a careful and unprejudiced estimate of men and movements. The translation is, generally speaking, well executed, and will be welcome to many.

Professor Percy Gardner, of Oxford, publishes a pamphlet on *The Origin of the Lord's Supper*,¹ in which he propounds a theory of a very novel, not to say startling, nature. Comparing the accounts of the institution which are given in the four Gospels, he conceives that the paragraphs in the three Synoptists, which give the comparison of the bread and wine to the body and blood of Jesus, and the section in Luke which speaks of the Supper as a memorial feast, may be removed from these Gospels without injury to their text. He finds, however, in 1 Cor. xi., another account so similar that the question of relation at once arises. Looking to the earlier date of the Epistle and to the circumstances as a whole, he concludes that those paragraphs in the Synoptists have their origin in the Pauline narrative. Further, having in view the words used in 1 Cor. xi. 23, he thinks that what Paul records in that chapter on the subject of the institution of the Lord's Supper came to him by revelation in a vision, this vision being suggested by, or taking its colour from, the observances in the Eleusinian mysteries, with which he would be familiar. Thus the narrative of the institution of the Lord's Supper with these two distinctive points—the comparison of the bread and wine to the body and blood of Jesus, and the instruction to keep it as a memorial feast—would not rest on any real, historical basis, but would be due to Paul's experiences in trance, and to the suggestions of the Eleusinian practice. Up to Paul's time the Christian tradition dwelt only on the detection of Judas, and perhaps the strife as to who should be greatest; and the words of institution, got their place in the narratives simply because Paul, instead of recording his vision as a vision, "projected it back into history" and "localised" it. The pamphlet is attractively written; the conclusions stated are the results of a careful study; the argument is ably and modestly put. The theory, however, is too ingenious,—more so even than Dean Blakesley's,—and it takes too much for granted. Even allowing Dr Hort to have been right in pronouncing the larger part of Luke xxii. 19, 20 not to have belonged to the original text of the third Gospel (and this is done on the basis only of *Western* documents), to remove what is said about the bread and wine and the memorial intention of the feast from the historical narrative would require much stronger reason than the pamphlet presents. For not only are Matthew and Mark still to be reckoned with, but even in Luke the comparison of the bread to the body of Jesus remains, and the whole paragraph, as the documentary evidence bears, must be of very ancient date, if

¹ London: Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. 22. Price 1s. net.

not originally in Luke's text. Behind all, too, is the question of the evangelic tradition and the forms of the evangelic narrative which preceded our present Gospels. And there are other considerations which make the other alternative vastly more probable, the supposition, namely, that both the Synoptic narrative and the Pauline come from an earlier source; not to speak of the extreme unlikelihood that an institution so primitive as the Lord's Supper, and with such a place in the Church, could have originated as is here imagined.

The eighth volume of the fourth series of *The Expositor*¹ contains many articles of importance, notably those by Professor Bruce on *St Paul's Conception of Christianity*, those by Professor Driver on Professor Marshall's *Aramaic Gospel*, and those by Professors Mommsen and Ramsay on *Christianity in the Roman Empire*, the *Pastoral Epistles and Tacitus*, and *The First Epistle attributed to St Peter*. Besides these, we have Mr Chase's *Criticism of Professor Ramsay's Theory*, a remarkably suggestive paper by Professor Findlay on *Fellowship in the Light of God*, Mr Conybeare's argument in favour of *Aristion* as the author of the closing paragraph of Mark's Gospel, and other papers, both instructive and interesting, by some twenty different hands.

Mr Henry Shaen Solly contributes to Professor Estlin Carpenter's series of *Bible Manuals* a study of *The Gospel according to Mark*.² The plan adopted is to take the Gospel by sections, and to give first a general view of the meaning of the paragraph, and then explanatory comments on particular words and phrases. The book owes much, as the author gratefully acknowledges, to Holtzmann. It gives proof of exact scholarship. It is succinct in its statements, and, barring its treatment of miracle, makes a good Manual.

The pulpit of our day has sustained no heavier loss than that which has befallen it by the death of Bishop Phillips Brooks. Anything from his pen will be eagerly received by all who appreciate preaching of the very highest order, and the volume which comes to hand under the title of *The Mystery of Iniquity and other Sermons*³ contains discourses equal to any published in his lifetime. Among others we mention those on *The Valley of Baca*, *The Battle of Life*, *The Nearness of Christ*, *The Eternal Humanity*, as examples of the great preacher's best.

The collection of *Biblical Essays*⁴ issued by the Trustees of the

¹ Edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. 476. Price 7s. 6d.

² London: The Sunday School Association. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. 235. Price 3s. 6d.

³ London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. 362. Price 6s.

⁴ By the late J. B. Lightfoot, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D. London: Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. xiv. 459. Price 12s.

Lightfoot Fund contains some papers which have been before the public in another form—one on the *Internal Evidence for the Authenticity and Genuineness of St John's Gospel*, which appeared in the *Expositor* in 1890, one on the *Mission of Titus to the Corinthians* printed in the *Journal of Sacred and Classical Philology* in 1885, and two contributed to the *Journal of Philology* on the *Structure and Destination of the Epistle to the Romans* (1869) and on the *Epistle to the Romans* (1871). But in addition to these we have a number which are printed from Lecture-notes. These range over such subjects as *St Paul's Preparation for the Ministry*, the *Churches of Macedonia*, the *Church of Thessalonica*, the *Destination of the Epistle to the Ephesians*, the *Date of the Pastoral Epistles*, and *St Paul's History after the Close of the Acts*. These *Essays* come in place of completed editions of the Epistles the great Bishop was accustomed to lecture on, which the Trustees, alas! find it impossible now to furnish. In some points the subjects dealt with have passed into other phases since Dr Lightfoot handled them. But in all these papers there is much in matter, and still more in method, that is of permanent value. Those on the *Epistles to the Romans* (with the counter-statements of Dr Hort), the *Ephesians*, and *Timothy* and *Titus* are of very special interest, particularly in view of recent discussions on these debated letters. The volume cannot fail to attract and inform the New Testament Student.

The volume of *Hulsean Lectures*¹ by the late Dr Hort has the strongly marked qualities of the lamented author—anxious quest of truth and of that only, sober, critical reflection, intrinsic weight of thought, and severe moderation of statement. The exacting idea which he entertained of literary and scholarly merit, and his modest estimate of himself, restrained him from frequent publication. Those who knew his value, therefore, will receive all the more eagerly anything which he has left behind him in a condition fit for publication, and these *Lectures* on the central question of what Christ is to man, to life, and to God, so reverent in tone and so rich in idea, will amply reward the careful reader.

Professor Gwatkin, of Cambridge, has laid students of Church History and students of the New Testament under obligation, by publishing his *Selections from Early Writers illustrative of Church History to the Time of Constantine*.² Such a book has been greatly needed, and nothing could be better done or more serviceable than what is now provided. The extracts, beginning with the statement by Tacitus on the Neronian persecution, and ending with that from

¹ The Way, the Truth, the Life. Cambridge and London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxvi. 219. Price 6s.

² London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. 167. Price 4s. net.
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Eusebius on Constantine's Cross, are admirably selected, and no less admirably translated.

In *The Church of England and Recent Religious Thought*¹ Mr Whittuck reviews the existing condition of things ecclesiastical and theological in an independent and liberal spirit and with no little insight. He discusses such subjects as the *Development of Class Attributes* in the clergy and in the Church laity, the relations of *Church and Dissent*, the Church's strength and weakness in face of the *Alienated Classes*, and the theological movements of the time. He writes boldly and vigorously, and has much to say which cannot be palatable to many of his readers, but which it is good for all to have brought under their notice. His criticisms and estimates of the English theology of the day deserve special attention. The criticisms are keen and searching, the estimates carefully formed. The general conclusions are that in Biblical studies English scholars have done nobly, that in other branches of theology they have not added to the reputation of former generations, but that the prospects of the theology of the English Church have never been brighter than now.

Dr W. T. Davison, of Handsworth College, contributes a volume on the Book of Psalms² to the series of *Books for Bible Students*. It touches with the sure hand of the scholar such topics as the *Compilation of the Psalter*, its *Age*, *Authorship*, *Poetry*, *Theology*, its *Witness to Christ*, and its *Use in the Christian Church*. It gives all that is most required and most apposite as an *Introduction* to the study of the Psalms, and it gives this in admirable form. Everywhere it furnishes the results of the best scholarship without the parade of learning. The sections which deal with the *Theology* of the Psalms, the Psalmist's doctrine of God, and the expression of the religious life in the Songs of Israel, are full of good matter given in attractive form. Those in the *Witness to Christ* handle a difficult and delicate subject wisely and ably.

¹ By Charles A. Whittuck, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 308. Price 7s. 6d.

² The Praises of Israel. An Introduction to the Study of the Psalms. London: C. H. Kelly. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 287. Price 2s. 6d.

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Author of "As regards Protoplasm." Edinburgh: T. & T.
Clark, 1894, 8vo. pp. 358. Price 10s. 6d.*

THIS book is undoubtedly the most trenchant criticism of Darwinianism that has yet appeared. It is written with the author's well-known philosophic grasp, wide and accurate learning, and telling diction, while through the whole there runs a quaint humour that lightens up the discussion and sets off the palpable hits that are made on almost every page. Dr Stirling's training—a life-long training—in philosophy and science, has given him a special fitness for writing this work. It has enabled him to look at the questions at issue from many sides. Intimately acquainted with biological science in its various aspects, with a mind broadened by a deep and varied learning, ancient and modern, he also possesses in an eminent degree an intellect that has been sharpened by the discussion of the most profound philosophical problems. Thus Dr Stirling has produced a book that will not only enhance his great reputation—that was not required—but one that is a valuable contribution to the thought of the present day, and one that must be reckoned with by the friends and foes alike of the Darwinian theory.

The book is a work of art. After mastering the subject by a perusal of all authorities, Dr Stirling does not at once discuss the theory, but he proceeds, in the first place, to trace its own evolution. Twelve chapters are devoted to delineating the lives and mental characteristics of the "Workmen," with the view of showing the progression of thought through at least three generations of the Darwin family,—the redoubtable grandfather Erasmus who, while practising as a country doctor, looked on nature with keen eyes, sang the "Loves of the Plants," and indulged in speculations as to the origin and the development of living beings; next his son Robert Waring Darwin, also a doctor, more gentle and kindly than Erasmus, but with the same love of nature and the same keen interest in the observation of living forms; and then the grandson, Charles Darwin himself, the country gentleman, kindly, courteous, fair-minded, industrious, loveable, whose writings, rightly or wrongly, have influenced all the thought,—philosophical, scientific, religious,—of the present day. There is also a short account given of Erasmus, the younger, the brother of Charles, and a friend of Thomas Carlyle, who thus delineates him in a few graphic strokes: "he had something of original and sarcastically ingenious in him,

one of the sincerest, naturally truest, and most modest of men." Still another representative, in the fourth generation, of this wonderful family is mentioned by Dr Stirling. The hereditary bias is seen in Mr Francis Darwin, the Botanist, of the University of Cambridge, who is not only distinguished as the biographer of his father but has made for himself, as a naturalist, a scientific reputation worthy of his name and of his ancestry.

In those chapters of biographical portraiture, Dr Stirling shows clearly how many of the ideas popularly associated with the writings of Charles Darwin originated in the brain of the grandfather. Erasmus not only was an acute and sometimes amusing observer of living beings, but he contemplated the transmutation of species, and he even went back to the "origin;" and to use his own words, "was bold to imagine that all warm-blooded animals have arisen from one living filament, which the great First Cause endued with animality, with the power of acquiring new parts, attended with new propensities, directed by irritations, sensations, volitions, and associations, and thus possessing the faculty of continuing to improve by its own inherent activity, and of delivering down these improvements by generation to its posterity, world without end." The grandfather, however, always entertained the idea of design as controlling and directing this stream of tendency from lower to higher beings, thus differing from the grandson whose theory rested on phenomena that he supposed occurred "accidentally," in a way not demanding the recognition of anything directive, or supernatural. There was thus a great gap between the views of Erasmus and Charles.

The career of Charles Darwin is treated with great, and we venture to think, with unnecessary fulness, and it is while reading this part of the book that one has a painful feeling that in his desire to give a true explanation of the popular success of the theory of the "origin of species" by Natural Selection, etc., Dr Stirling has gone a little too far into the dangerous ground of discussing motives. Everywhere he writes of Charles Darwin as a man whom he feels bound to honour and esteem, but still there is, peeping out here and there, a bias in the downward direction that is not pleasing. Dr Stirling's notion appears to be that the conception of "Natural Selection" etc., took such a hold on the nature of Charles Darwin as to become what one might call a bee in his bonnet, so that he collected his facts too hurriedly, was far too credulous in the acceptance of statements from untrustworthy authorities, was inclined, even in his apparent desire to be fair, to give a twist to statements so that they went in his own direction, and that he with a kind of worldly wisdom, flattered and cajoled such men as Charles Lyell, Asa Gray, Joseph Dalton Hooker, and Thomas Henry Huxley, with the view of winning them over to his side before the publication of the book,

and with the deliberate intention of ensuring its success. Further, that the "Origin of Species" was, as it were, exploited under the most auspicious patronage, that the very word "Origin" gave a false impression to the public as to what it was all about, that the public were led to believe that most of the facts were discovered by Mr Darwin himself, and that this was largely the cause of its rapid success. Here and there too, Dr Stirling indulges in stinging asides about small things that were not worth noticing. All this has sprung from Dr Stirling's method. He has read and re-read the "Origin" and the other books subsequently issued as further expositions of the theory, in the light of the "Journal" and of the "Life and Letters," in the latter of which, following the prurient practice of present day biographical literature, not a little is exposed to public view that might well have been kept sacred to intimate friends. Surely this is not up to the high water mark of generous criticism. Whose life could stand this kind of inspection? Why should we look below a man's work, searching for his motives, and if these are in any way likely to point to his own self-interest, or to the advancement of his own views, why should we thrust them forth into public gaze, and pillory him as a self seeker?

In view of the great questions at issue, it is not worth while taking all these pains to dissect the inner life of the worker. Surely it is better at once to criticise the work and to ascertain what it has contributed to knowledge. At the same time, while I feel bound, with all respect, thus to express myself on this aspect of the book, I recognise that, in reality, and to use his own words, Dr Stirling admires the naturalist and honours the man, and that it was only the exigencies of his plan that led him to go into these by-paths of private life.

One of the most charming chapters is that in which Dr Stirling gives illustrations of Mr Darwin's power, not often used, of dramatic writing. Some of it is almost poetical in its vividness. With all his prosiness, there was a strong dash of the poet in the author of "Zoonomia," and it reappears in a subdued form, in the grandson. Thus, quoting from the Journal: "A few fire-flies flitted by us, and the solitary snipe, as it rose, uttered its plaintive cry; the distant and sullen roar of the sea scarcely broke the stillness of the night." Again: "It (the noise of the stones rattling over each other in the mountain torrents on the Cordilleras) was like thinking on time, where the minute that now glides past is irrevocable; so was it with these stones, the ocean is their eternity, and each note of that wild music told of one more step towards their destiny." Well may Dr Stirling comment, "What speaks there is quite a metaphysical imagination."

The second part of Dr Stirling's book, entitled "The Work," and

numbering sixteen chapters, is a valuable criticism of the theory, and it will attract the attention of naturalists. So far as theologians and men of letters are concerned, Dr Stirling will earn their gratitude by the clear and succinct way in which he shows what the Darwinian theory really is, namely the origin of species by accidental variation, natural selection, and survival of the fittest. This of course is known to every one who has paid attention to the subject, but there is a hazy notion still in the public mind in which Evolution and Darwinism proper are so blended as to cause people to forget that after all Darwinianism is only an attempt to account for the formation of species by a particular mode of evolution. As already pointed out, Erasmus Darwin was an Evolutionist, although he detailed no specific mode of the process; and all know that Lamarck went further in his *Philosophie Zoologique* and formulated, under four statements (designated "laws") his hypothesis of the evolution of organs by appetite or longing,—or, in other words, altered habits causing new wants that resulted in the development of new organs and possibly in the modification or atrophy of organs already existing. The wish was, if not father to the organ, at least its forerunner, and the need led to the growth or to the wasting. Lamarck, however, recognised the influence of two factors in the process:—first, "a power of life," a something internal that caused a real progression; and, second, the effect of external circumstances. External circumstances took the largest share in the process, according to the Lamarckian hypothesis, and it is this aspect of the problem, along with his notions on embryonal development that we associate with the name of the great Frenchman. On the other hand, Charles Darwin, although at first inclined to attach considerable importance to the influence of circumstances, gradually abandoned this view, and more and more clung to his theory that *accidental* variations acted directly by giving the advantage in the struggle for existence. The essence of the Darwinian view may be expressed thus:—accidental natural variation, natural selection giving an advantage, and adaptation leading to the formation of a new species. This, again, was not fixed; but might, in turn, be transmuted, or disappear. Dr Stirling gives an excellent account of the appearance of the woodpecker, in the language of a Darwinian, that may be quoted as an example of the attractive style of the book, and as a clever exposition of Mr Darwin's views. Possibly a Darwinian devotee may consider it a caricature, but it is not far off the mark. "Of two birds that feed on insects, conceive the one of them to have varied favourably in the beak—to be possessed, that is, of the stronger beak: it will have the advantage over the other, and it will transmit this advantage to its descendants. In these this advantage can only grow;

for they will always possess, and, as is evident, always increasingly possess, the strongest beaks. That strength of beak will give the advantage is but a corollary on the habits of the birds themselves. They haunt fallen trees, namely, under the bark of which the insects burrow to fall a prey preferably to the strongest beak that can dig for them. Still even the strongest beak does not always succeed; its tongue, conceivably, is too short, and the insects occasionally escape it. Let a strong-beaked bird be born with a longer tongue than the rest, why, it, too, will have the advantage over its fellows, and it will also transmit this advantage to the descendants of itself. Strong-beaked, long-tongued insect-feeders will now, evidently, constitute the rule; but, unfortunately, in course of time, there occurs a dearth of fallen timber; strength of beak and length of tongue scarcely suffice any longer for more than the scantiest and miserablest of existences. But see, one of them gets born with sharper fore-claws than any one of its brothers; it is actually seen to ascend standing trees, and, triumphantly tapping the bark, luxuriously to feed on an all-abundant treasure and store of hitherto unreachable and unreachd insects. Once again there can be only one result, the birds that have blunt fore-claws will gradually die off, and the sharp fore-claws will alone remain. But even these come to be at a disadvantage in the struggle for life. An individual is born that adds on to the already existent fore-claw—actually!—a sharp hind-claw. *Consummatum est!* the sharp fore-claws must perish, for their time has come. But even the triumphant hind-clawers have to suffer defeat in their turn. There is born among them one who can stick his tail, as well as his claws, into the tree, up which he can run with an all-conquering swiftness. He and his children simply starve out all the rest, and are left alone at the last in the undisturbed possession of every rotten tree in the forest. On every one of them now there thrones an autocrat—a *Picus Superbus!* This, the wood-pecker, is a bird that, for the complicated adaptations it exhibits, is absolutely unparalleled. The bill is wedge-shaped and keen: the tongue is long, nimble, sharp, barbed or beset with bristles bent backwards, and coated viscid: the claws are strong and spiked to grasp even a perpendicular surface, and in this they are supported by the tail, the stiff-pointed-end feathers of which can keenly grasp also. The life of this bird being the running up and down old trees to pick holes into them in pursuit of insects, which it hunts and captures with its supple, long, gluey tongue, it is to be regarded in itself as glaringly and conspicuously a proof of the fact of natural selection; for though possibly quite an ordinary bird at first, it has conspicuously grown into what it is—a new species—by propagated successive advantages simply in pursuit of its own business!”

Now Lamarck would have said that the woodpecker came to be what it is, in consequence of new habits (new desires arising from difficulty in getting food, etc., and possibly the influence of climate, food, etc., but Darwin lays the greatest stress on *accidental* variation. There can be no doubt that here he comes into conflict with any notion of *design*. Dr Stirling points this out with great force and shews that such men as Charles Kingsley, and many other Darwinians, apparently never thoroughly grasped the true Darwinian position, or at least recognised its tremendous consequences. Kingsley thought that the process described by Mr Darwin gave him a nobler conception of the working of the Deity than the older view of creation, but the "noble conception of the Deity" was not the conception of Charles Darwin. The great naturalist felt this himself, and, in some moments of his life, he seems to have regretted that he was obliged to give up all evidence of design and beneficence. It need hardly be pointed out that in relegating the first step towards "adaptation to new conditions," to accident or chance, Darwin was simply giving up the whole question. There can be no such thing as chance, no such thing as "*accidental* variation;" if variation did occur it must have been in obedience to some deeper law. This first step has always appeared to me to be *the* weak point in the Darwinian view, and I heartily agree with everything Dr Stirling has so ably written on this aspect of the question.

Dr Stirling, in Chapter V. scarcely admits that there is a struggle for existence going on in nature, and the facts he brings forward seem to be wide of the mark. It is true that on some parts of the earth's surface many species, carnivores and herbivores, seem to be living in peace and harmony, but this is a notion derived from only a superficial view. There is struggle everywhere, murder and sudden death, and those survive in nature who can hold their own or escape by speed of foot or swiftness of wing. Again, our author wonders why the little six-inch armadillos survive in South America while the nine-foot glyptodon has disappeared. Surely the strong one might have held its own. But we must remember that great bulk handicaps a large animal when a struggle arises from any condition implying dearth of food. Owen, who was not a Darwinian, says: "The actual presence therefore of small species of animals in countries where larger species of the same natural families formerly existed, is not the consequence of any natural diminution of the size of such species, but is the result of circumstances, which may be illustrated by the fable of the 'Oak and the Reed'; the smaller and feebler animals have bent and accommodated themselves to changes that have destroyed the larger species. They have fared better in the 'battle of life.'" This accounts for the disappearance of the glyptodon, still more of the colossal *Atlantosaurus*, an animal

"not much less than one hundred feet in length and thirty or more in height"! It would not be easy for such monsters to live unless the conditions were favourable for the production of vast quantities of food.

Dr Stirling's criticism of Mr Darwin's book on the "Emotions" is excellent, showing, by many apposite examples, that Mr Darwin's explanations of the natural emotional actions of many animals are far-fetched. There is no need for insisting that such and such a muscular movement is not spontaneous but is a relic of something that was consciously done by a remote ancestor. Movements of animals expressive of pride, emulation, vanity, are primary and direct, occurring in consonance with emotional states. We need not always look back to the remote ancestor. The chapter dealing with this part of the subject is very amusing.

In his closing chapters, and elsewhere in the book, Dr Stirling indulges in smart criticism of Mr Huxley, who has been from the first the most doughty champion of Darwinianism and whose great powers have no doubt commended the theory not only to scientific men but to the public. We hardly think that Dr Stirling is entitled to attribute Mr Huxley's acceptance of the theory to a mental bias against the commonly received view of a creation, a bias that "when in the dilemma of 'the Darwinian hypothesis' or 'the creation hypothesis' we see Mr Huxley rush to the former, we may know that it is only the latter has driven him." Few can weigh a theory more dispassionately, or look into the facts supporting it with a clearer intelligence than Mr Huxley, and it must also be borne in mind, as pointed out by Dr Stirling himself, that Mr Huxley recognised difficulties in the way of a full acceptance of the Darwinian view, more especially as regards the significance of the infertility of hybrids, and that he looked on it as a "working hypothesis," that might or might not be final explanative of the origin of the species. Still it is an illustration of what may be brought about by the whirligig of time to find narrowness and a kind of fanaticism attributed to Mr Huxley. "Mr Huxley, namely, was glad of anything that promised to be 'a working hypothesis' towards the extinction of a supernatural causation by a natural one."

Dr Stirling puts pithily the other attitude thus: "As society is, then, this of Darwinianism is very much a question of the mere *Vorstellung*, in the mere feeling and prejudice of the day. There are a great many more Darwinians on grounds of hostility to the supposed common belief than Mr Huxley. And, most assuredly, it is on no such grounds that we, for our part, would see the question discussed. Things being as they are, that can be rationally accomplished at present, not in any religious reference

pro, and still less, as I honestly believe, in any religious reference *contra*, but only in an absolutely abstract inquest, the determination of which, the bringing of which to an ultimate result and to truth, shall depend on the application of no principles but those of thought as thought, with an ear, if open to science on the one side, yet not practically deaf to philosophy on the other."

In closing, Dr Stirling writes as follows :—"For myself, in conclusion I must say this : I admire the naturalist and I honour the man ; but I hope to be forgiven if, 'for the life of me,' I cannot but smile when assured by Mr Darwin that there is not necessarily such a thing as design in this universe,—*now that the law of natural selection has been discovered.*"

With this statement most of his readers will agree. Dr Stirling and all who have looked below the surfaces of things must accept the fact of an evolution, that has somehow brought about the present forms of animals and plants. Natural law and secondary cause have been in operation through long periods of time and there have been succession and progression of species to suit varied conditions on the earth's surface. This is proved, *inter alia*, by the evidence that in the development of the individual, and in the succession of species in time, there is an ascent from the lower to the higher, from the general to the particular. And it must be said in conclusion, that although this aspect of living nature was guessed at by not a few, the first to attempt systematically to show how it came about was Charles Darwin. The attempt of Lamarck was trivial in comparison. Evanescent his own particular theory may be, full of discrepancies that can be detected by the eagle eye of such a critic as Dr Stirling, possibly a mere "working hypothesis" without finality, still it must be admitted that Charles Darwin asked questions, suggested difficulties, dragged problems into the light of day, conducted laborious personal investigations, that have commanded the admiration of all naturalists, and forced philosophers to look at nature from a fresh point of view. Not only has thought been stimulated but the impetus given to scientific investigation in all quarters can scarcely be over estimated. Accidental variation, during the life of the adult, or in the first living matter of the embryo, as Weismann and others, in these later days, would have us believe, is out of the question ; but there is a struggle for existence going on, the best fitted survive, and adaptations, whether they ever amount to the appearance of a new species or not, are being effected all the world over. Such wonderful adaptations exist everywhere,—on mountain top, on the plain, by the sea-shore, in abyssal depths of the ocean,—and the thoughts of men are again swinging round to the position that whilst the last word as to the process has not yet been

said, and whilst both the Lamarckian and the Darwinian views are found wanting as adequate final explanations, the old notion of *design* is not to be lightly cast aside. Not accident but purpose seems to be the golden thread that runs through nature, both inorganic and organic.

JOHN G. M'KENDRICK.

The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments.

By the Rev. A. H. Sayce, Professor of Assyriology in the University of Oxford. London: S.P.C.K. 8vo, pp. 575. Price, 7s. 6d.

THIS work, as Professor Sayce tells us in his Preface, is not calculated to please either "the apologists" or "the higher critics." Those who have loudly and repeatedly proclaimed that "the verdict of the monuments" always tends to demonstrate the veracity of the Bible will be mortified to find that in many cases Professor Sayce treats the historical statements of the Bible as unworthy of trust. Thus, for instance, we are told that the chronology of the compiler of Kings "must be rejected" since it is incompatible with the dates given in the Assyrian inscriptions (p. 406). The compiler of Chronicles fares even worse. "The consistent exaggeration of numbers on the part of the chronicler shows us that from a historical point of view his unsupported statements must be received with caution. . . . He cared as little for history in the modern European sense of the word as the Oriental of to-day, who considers himself at liberty to embellish or modify the narrative he is repeating in accordance with his fancy or the moral he wishes to draw from it" (p. 464). But what "the apologists" will resent most of all is Professor Sayce's treatment of the Book of Daniel. The narrative is pronounced to be unhistorical, and the book, according to Professor Sayce, must have been composed long after the Exile by a writer whose knowledge of ancient Babylon was of the vaguest kind. After all this, we cannot be surprised that the Tract Committee of the S.P.C.K., under whose direction the present work is published, should have thought it their duty to add some notes in which disappointment and annoyance clearly show themselves through the thin veil of politeness. They attempt to make the best of an embarrassing situation by casting doubt on the trustworthiness of Professor Sayce's results. In a note on page 497 they remark—"It is but right to note here that some of Professor Sayce's views on the Book of Daniel are not shared by other authorities. See the article *Daniel* in the new edition of the *Bible Dictionary*, and the late Professor Fuller's articles in the *Expositor*, 3rd Series, Vols. I and II." That some

of Professor Sayce's views "are not shared by other authorities" is perfectly true, but by what figure of speech the late Professor Fuller can be described as an "authority" the Tract Committee do not explain. Their theory appears to be that Professor Sayce is a good authority as long as he quotes "the monuments" in support of the Bible, and that whenever he contradicts the Bible we must set him aside in favour of some more orthodox "authority."

On the other hand, "the higher critics" will regard this work with profound distrust. In the first place, Professor Sayce nowhere shows any adequate knowledge of the writings of Biblical critics, either in England or on the Continent, and while he indulges, page after page, in denunciations about the arrogance and perversity of "the higher criticism," he seldom condescends to mention *where* he has seen the statements against which he is protesting. In discussing Biblical criticism it is of the utmost importance to distinguish between the views of individual critics and the views held by critics generally, but on this subject Professor Sayce's readers are almost invariably kept in the dark. Whether a particular opinion has been expressed by Kuenen or Wellhausen, by Nöldeke or Stade, is to Professor Sayce a matter of indifference. It is enough that he has seen, or thinks that he has seen, the opinion expressed somewhere, and forthwith he proceeds to make "the higher criticism" responsible for it. Of this recklessness the Preface offers an example. Professor Sayce complains that "the critics" disagree with him about an inscribed weight found at Samaria, and accuses them, in the most offensive language, of attempting "to get rid of the archaeological evidence which had so inconveniently turned up." Yet, as Professor Driver has pointed out in the *Academy* (Oct. 28, 1893), the opinion which so much annoyed Professor Sayce emanated not from a Biblical critic but from Professor Euting of Strassburg, one of the best judges of Semitic inscriptions, and was adopted, on the authority of Euting, by a *single* "critic," namely, Professor König of Rostock. "*Ex hoc disce omnia!*" exclaims Professor Sayce in his Preface, and the appropriateness of the quotation will be acknowledged by everybody. This is, in fact, only a fair specimen of Professor Sayce's methods.

Hence any one who comes to this book in the hope of discovering precisely how far "the verdict of the monuments" has affected Biblical criticism will be bitterly disappointed. The greater part of the work is occupied by irrelevant matter, by lengthy disquisitions on the origin of the alphabet, the influence of Babylonian civilisation in Canaan, the racial characteristics of the Amorites and the Hittites, and a score of other questions which, however important they may be in themselves, are but very remotely connected with the subject in hand, namely the authorship and credibility

of the Biblical records. When Professor Sayce attempts to throw light on Biblical criticism properly so-called, he seldom offers more than vague speculations. Thus, for instance, he tells us that the cuneiform inscriptions lately found at Tel-el-Amarna testify to "a wide extension of knowledge and literary activity" in Palestine before the Israelite invasion, and that "the art of writing and reading must have been as widely spread as it was in Europe before the days of the penny post" (p. 51). "Why then," he goes on to ask, "should the writer of a later day have had any lack of materials for a truthful and detailed history of Palestine before the Israelite conquest?" (p. 52). In reality the Old Testament, as everybody knows, contains extremely few details about the history of Palestine before the conquest. Moreover, in all his reasoning on this subject, Professor Sayce ignores two very important considerations. Firstly, the art of writing may exist in a country for ages before there is any historical literature. The Arabs, for example, certainly possessed the art of writing before the time of Mohammed, yet it was not till long after the establishment of the Mohammedan Empire that they began to write histories. In ancient India, also, the art of writing appears to have been practised long before there were any books (see Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 179). Secondly, even if it were proved that the ancient Canaanites had a large historical literature in the cuneiform character, it would by no means necessarily follow that the Israelites living some centuries later were acquainted with that literature. How much did an ordinary educated Arab of the ninth or tenth century of our era know about the ancient literatures of the countries which his forefathers had conquered? Even the Sabæan inscriptions, though written by natives of Arabia and in an Arabic dialect, were unintelligible to the most learned Mohammedans of later times. Professor Sayce rightly condemns those who theorise about the ancient East before they have made themselves acquainted with the East of the present day (pp. 557 *et seq.*). Would it not have been well if, before he speculated about the literature which *may have existed* 1500 years B.C., he had carefully considered the history of those more modern Oriental literatures about which we may obtain full and accurate information?

Not only does this book display a very slight acquaintance with the works of modern Biblical critics and with the literary history of the East, but it bears witness likewise to an almost incredible carelessness about philology. In reading Professor Sayce's remarks on the meaning and derivation of Hebrew words, we seem to have before us some treatise written in the last century, when philologists derived Greek from Hebrew, and went upon the principle that "all the consonants are interchangeable and the vowels do not

count." A few samples will suffice. On page 54 the name of the city Kiryath-Sannah (Joshua xv. 49) is explained to mean "the city of instruction." Can it be that Professor Sayce confounds the root סנ , from which סנה is formed, with the totally different root שנה (Aram. סנה)? On page 339 he gravely asserts that *Jasher* is an abbreviation of the longer *Israel*—as if ישר (with radical י) could be connected with ישראל (where the י is, of course, merely the prefix of the Imperfect), and as if ש and י were interchangeable. On page 472 he derives *kether* "crown" from the Persian *khshatram* (which, by the way, does not mean "crown" but "kingdom")—as if *kether* were not sufficiently explained by the Hebrew root כתר "to encircle." And it is to be noted that these extravagances, and many others of the same kind, are put forward by Professor Sayce without any hint as to their uncertainty.

It may, however, be urged that though Professor Sayce is deplorably weak in Biblical criticism and Hebrew philology, he is trustworthy at least on the subject of "the monuments." Unhappily he has shown that here also his statements are to be regarded with grave suspicion. Too often he assumes that his own opinion is the only possible one, and he proceeds to build up a theory upon it, without informing his readers that other authorities, perhaps no less competent than himself, take an entirely different view. Thus on pp. 164 *et seq.* he has a great deal to say about the Babylonian prince *Eri-Aku*, whom he identifies with the Arioch of Gen. xiv. But he omits to mention that Dr H. Winckler, who has recently edited and translated the inscriptions in question (see the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, Bd. iii., 1 Hälfte, pp. 92 *et seq.*) reads the name as *Rim-Sin*, which, if it be correct, makes the identification with Arioch impossible. Moreover, Friedr. Delitzsch is of opinion that the first sign in this name *cannot possibly* be read as *Iri-* or *Eri-* (see Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, Engl. Transl. Vol. ii. p. 301). Perhaps Professor Sayce's reading may ultimately prove to be right, but he ought at least to have stated that here decipherers are not yet agreed. A similar instance of the manner in which Professor Sayce ignores the opinion of other Assyriologists occurs on p. 532. He there says—"Belteshazzar, we are told, was the name given to Daniel after his adoption among the 'wise men' of Babylon. Now Bilat-sarra-utsur, 'O Beltis, defend the king,' is a good Babylonian name. But in the Book of Daniel the name is written, not with a *tau*, as would be required by the word Bilat, but with a *teth*, so that the first element in it is transformed into the Assyrian word *ballidh* 'he caused to live.' The result is a compound which has no sense, and would be impossible in the Babylonian language." Surely the reader ought to have been told that both Professor Schrader (*Cuneiform*

Inscriptions and the Old Testament, Vol. ii. p. 125) and Friedr. Delitzsch (in Baer's *Libri Danielis, Ezrae, et Nehemiae*, p. ix.) give a different explanation, taking the name to mean "protect thou his life" (*Baldāšu-ušur* or *Baldāšu-ušur*). Again, on page 530, Professor Sayce tells us "*Par'su* or *bar'su* in Assyrian means 'a part of a shekel.'" Is this quite certain? According to the inscribed Assyrian weights which we possess the word must mean "half a mina," and the mina consisted of sixty shekels—see the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Part 2, Tom. I., No. 10. Professor Sayce, who attaches so much importance to "archæological evidence," will, perhaps, on some future occasion, enlighten us about this matter.

Professor Cheyne in his book, *The Founders of Old Testament Criticism*, p. 233, charges Professor Sayce with attempting to "popularise questionable theories," and it must be admitted that the instances above mentioned go far towards justifying the accusation.

In conclusion, it may be noticed that in treating of the Moabite Stone (p. 366) Professor Sayce says that "the latest and best edition of the text" is that which was published in 1886 by Smend and Socin, and he then gives a translation made by Dr Neubauer. It should have been mentioned that in 1890 a much better edition of the text, with a translation and copious notes, was published by Professor Driver, who has utilised the latest suggestions of Clermont-Ganneau, Renan, and Nöldeke (see Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, pp. lxxxiv.-xciv.).

A. A. BEVAN.

Hebräische Archäologie.

Von Dr J. Benzinger, mit 152 Abbildungen im Text. Plan von Jerusalem und Karte von Palästina. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xx. 515. Price, M. 10.

It would be difficult to find in all the series of manuals and primers that are sent forth in such embarrassing profusion from English and Continental publishing firms, any work of the same extent as the present volume that contains more sound information condensed without sacrifice to clearness into so small a space. The author, Dr Benzinger, has interpreted his task in the widest sense, and has incorporated into his book many of the leading facts in the ethnography and geography of Palestine which his personal acquaintance with Oriental scenes and life gives him special opportunities of knowing, but which are not infrequently absent from works of this

character. He has also illustrated his pages with more than 152 well executed woodcuts, borrowed from the best sources, the type is clear and readable and in Roman character, and the proportion of *Anmerkungschrift* to the entire letterpress is mercifully small. And so successfully have irrelevancy and diffuseness been banished from this volume that we find the entire matter, including copious and well-arranged subjects and Biblical references, compressed into a little over 500 pages.

Such a manual has been one of the greatest needs of our modern Old Testament student. Even from the time when Ewald wrote his famous volume of *Alterthümer* in 1844, we cannot be said to have had many systematic treatises dealing with this subject. The last quarter of a century in particular has not been fruitful in such handbooks. The *Archæology of the Old Testament* in Zöckler's "Handbook of Theological Disciplines" is much too brief and dismisses the whole in sixty large octavo pages. I cannot speak from personal knowledge of the posthumous work of the Catholic scholar Schegg. Nor need I mention others.

The reason for this sterility of literature is not far to seek. The last twenty-five years have been a period of memorable and vast archaeological discovery and of epoch-making contributions to the criticism and scientific interpretation of the Old Testament. With respect to archæology, it is noteworthy that the discoveries made by the two Palestine Exploration Societies have yielded comparatively small results for the student of ancient Israel beyond the topographical. Of pre-exilian Hebrew inscriptions they have furnished next to nothing. Compare the Siloam inscription and the finds at Tell el Hesi with the *spolia opima* of Assyrian, Babylonian and Egyptian research! It is safe to assert that the cuneiform material recovered from the Tell el Amarna ruins in the latter part of 1887 has thrown far more light on the earlier Pre-mosaic history of Canaan than many years of labour in Palestinian research. Let us hope that Tell el Hesi may yet reveal some of the broken threads of history beyond the severed strands recovered from the wrecks of Tell el Amarna preserved in Berlin and London, and yield us clues of yet greater value. Now, while the vast accumulations of epigraphic and other materials collected by Layard, George Smith and their followers have been awaiting careful scrutiny and authoritative interpretation, the science of archæology could hardly advance a single step in safety.

Another potent cause has been the revolution in Old Testament criticism and the complete reconstruction of its history and literature. But the truth could only be reached through conflict, and the conflict lasted fifteen years. The labours of Kuenen, Wellhausen and Stade have been far-reaching in their influence on the whole science of Hebrew religious institutions. To know any institution

adequately is to know at least something of its historic evolution, and it has been the failure to recognise this evolutionary principle in religion and history that has made the treatment of Hebrew religious institutions inadequate even in the pages of Ewald's great "History of the People Israel." But after Wellhausen produced his masterly Prolegomena to the "History of Israel" (the title of the second edition) in 1878, and exhibited the growth of Hebrew institutions through the three successive strata of legislation embodied in the Book of the Covenant (with the law of the Two Tables), Deuteronomy, and Priestercodex (with Ezekiel's program as a mediating link between the last two), the whole perspective of Israel's history became a vista luminous in their reflected light, and the whole subject of Hebrew archaeology became invested with a new meaning and interest. To this we must add the important services rendered by such careful investigators of early Arabic literature as Professor Wellhausen (we refer especially to his "Reste Arabischen Heidenthums" in his series of "Sketches and Preliminary Studies"), and Professor Robertson Smith, whose "Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia" and "Religion of the Semites" are frequently cited in the volume before us. Let us not forget also Baudissin's most important pioneer work—still a valuable store-house of information—his *Studien zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte*. Another writer of the same school, Stade, has evidently exercised a considerable influence upon the contents of this volume. His ingenious reconstruction of the Solomonic palace and temple is turned to full account in p. 240, *fol.* But we question whether undue space has not been bestowed on a subject full of technical obscurities. A merely cursory glance at Dr Benzinger's book shows that Stade's invaluable chapters on the early pre-exilian institutions of Israel have been utilised to the utmost. One point upon which closer attention needs to be devoted is the precise effect of Babylonian life and culture upon Jewish institutions. That the memorable exile-period effected a change in tradition and usage not only in the calendar but on the whole area of civilization can scarcely admit of doubt. How far the humane civilization of Babylonia influenced, for example, the position of women and slaves in the post-exilian Jewish commonwealth, in respect of possession and inheritance of property, still needs careful investigation.

But a work like the present treatise can only deal with definitely ascertained results, or results that are highly probable, and we regard it as pre-eminent above all its predecessors in its adequate recognition of the established conclusions of the Higher Criticism, as well as the abundant and intelligent use that has been made of recent archaeological discovery.

We shall now give a brief summary of the contents, interspersed
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with a few comments. After an introduction which deals with the limits of the ground to be traversed, the method to be pursued, and the classification to be adopted, the writer gives a useful history of the discipline from the time of the early Christian Church and the Middle Ages down to the present day. He then maps out his ground into four divisions. The first takes up the subject of the "land and people." The best results of the investigations of modern travel and of the researches of the English and German Palestine Societies are here embodied. The information on the climate of Palestine and the topography of Jerusalem will be found especially serviceable. In illustration of the latter a well-executed plan of ancient Jerusalem (facing p. 56) will be found a welcome addition to the book. We have also at the end of the volume an elaborate map of modern Palestine, crowded with the names of every hill and village, presented on a scale of one inch to about $9\frac{1}{2}$ English miles, a marvel of clear printing. It is accompanied by larger scale maps of the region of Nazareth and Tiberias and of the Highlands of Judæa, while we have a third and still larger scale-plan of modern Jerusalem and its environs. Next follows a very useful section on the pre-historic period of Israel's development, succeeded by another on the pre-Israelite inhabitants of Canaan and Syria, accompanied by well executed portraits borrowed from Professor Sayce's recent suggestive work on the "Races of the Old Testament," published by the Religious Tract Society, in which the figures from the Hall of Columns at Karnak are carefully reproduced from photographs. In this part of the work Dr. Benzinger remarks that for the name "Canaanites," as embracing the population of Palestine west of the Jordan, individual Old Testament writers, as Amos and the Elohist, substitute the name "Amorites." We would add to this what a future edition ought certainly to mention—viz., that the Assyrian records, and especially the Tell el Amarna inscriptions, testify that *this was the most ancient name for these populations current in Western Asia*. There is good reason to hold that the signs hitherto read (*mât*) *Aharri*, or "western land," designating the whole Palestinian and Phœnician border, should actually be read (*mât*) *Amurri*. Many scholars now hold that the sign which has the alternative values *har* and *mur* (see Delitzsch Assyriol. 3rd Ed. No. 227, compare also No. 162) should in this case be read as *mur*. It was, I believe, Delattre who first definitely proposed this reading in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, March 1891, pp. 233-4, in view of such forms as *A-mu-ur-ra* and *A-mu-ri* alongside of *A-^{mur}har-ri* in the Tell el Amarna tablets. Sayce, in the *Academy* for May 20, 1893, and M. Jastrow, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriol.*, April 1892, have adopted

this suggestion, which throws an interesting light on ancient Semitic nomenclature.

Useful sections follow on the Bnê Yisrá'el and the development of Israelite civilisation in Palestine. We next enter the *second* part of the book dealing with the antiquities of private life (*Privat-alterthümer*) as opposed to those of political life (*Staats-alterthümer*) which constitute the *third* part. The former or second division includes the subjects food, dress, clothing, each of which is clearly and succinctly set forth and copiously illustrated. Especially to be commended are the illustrations, derived from the modern life of the fellahin, representing the probable form of an ancient Hebrew oven (pp. 86 *fol.*) Equally good is the section dealing with dress.

We have no space to characterise the sections devoted to the Hebrew family (§§ 19-21). It is enough to say that the author has utilised some of the best results of Professor Robertson Smith's monograph "Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia." The section devoted to "Slaves" is useful, but too brief. No fact of real importance has, so far as we can see, been omitted. We must pass rapidly over the following chapter on "Social Life and its Relations" as well as that which is devoted to weights, coinage and calendar, which is worked out with considerable detail. The following sections deal with pastoral life and agriculture, with admirable illustrations of agricultural implements, taken from modern Palestinian examples. We can only mention the subjects of "trade" and "art" which are next dealt with. This section is concluded by two excellent chapters on "Writing," with useful reproductions of the Siloam inscription and a table, familiar to students of Müller's Grammar, of the ancient Phœnician Hebrew alphabet in its historic development from the ninth century (Stone of Mesha) onwards. There is a useful note dealing with the question of the origin of this alphabet, but it leaves the subject too much in suspense, while the interesting light shed on the subject by Glaser's discoveries in South Arabia appears to be wholly ignored.

The third part of the book is devoted to the Hebrew State. We observe that the writer apparently makes the family rather than the clan the unit of ancient Semitic life and the tribe is spoken of as an "extension of the family" (*die erweiterte Familie*). The expression is somewhat ambiguous, though Dr Benzinger subsequently guards himself by showing that "the words family, kin, and tribe have among the Semites a much more extended significance than among ourselves." The subject is treated with characteristic clearness by Professor Robertson Smith, whose words might be quoted with advantage (though they probably present an extreme view of the facts): "The notion that the clan is only a larger household

is not consistent with the results of modern research. Kinship is an older thing than family life, and in the most primitive societies known to us the family or household group was not a sub-division of the clan, but contained members of more than one kindred" ("Rel. of the Semites," p. 260). Dr. Benzinger, however, admits that the clan grew by additions from without (p. 293) as the history of the Bedouin tribes proves, and the assumption of a common direct descent of all the individual members of a tribe from a common tribal ancestor is pronounced a mere fiction (p. 292), whether the tradition be that of the Bedouin or the Hebrews. As lovers of the patriarchal histories in Genesis, we may however console ourselves with the concession made by the writer on a later page (p. 298), where he admits that Robertson Smith's theory of animal totems and Stade's doctrine of the hero-eponyms do not explain everything. With Nöldeke he would give due place to the old Biblical conception that derives the tribal name from an individual. "Both among the Hebrews and among the Arabs these gentile names might have been employed as individual names and we cannot get rid of the possibility that individual clans did actually descend from men whose names they bore, and that whole tribes assumed the name of a distinguished leader or of a leading clan and called themselves his 'sons.'"

The fourth division of this work, dealing with Religious Institutions, is necessarily dominated by the now ascertained results of the Higher Criticism, which place the Priestercodex last in the series of Hexateuchal documents, and regard it as expressing the latest and most fully developed stage of Hebrew legislation. In no other part of the book is the historic method applied so consistently and rigidly. But for this Wellhausen's *Prolegomena* had already supplied ample materials. The distinction sharply drawn in this volume between the institutions of P and D renders this portion of the work especially serviceable to the Old Testament student. The history of the priesthood and the questions respecting its derivation from an actual and primitive tribe of Levi are concisely and clearly discussed. In our opinion the balance between Wellhausen and Stade is very fairly struck (p. 416) and no important points (e.g., the pre-exilian section, Judges xvii. xviii.) are neglected or slurred over.

On the subject of clean and unclean meats due weight is given to the ancestor-totem theory of their origin. The writer is, however, careful to state that such a theory does not by any means imply conscious knowledge of such an origin on the part of the Israelites in historic times (p. 484). In the section devoted to this obscure and interesting subject some reference should have been made, in our opinion, to Robertson Smith's ingenious theory that the laws of

Deut. xiv. (Levit. xi.) were designed to counteract the mystic rites which became prevalent in the troubled period of Babylonian invasions in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. (See "Kinship and Marriage," p. 221, and the long note, p. 317, *fol.*). For my own part, I am unable to accept this attractive hypothesis as giving an adequate explanation of the presence of so elaborate a system two centuries later in the Priestercodex (in slightly revised form). Another explanation, which I have recently propounded, ascribes a more ancient origin to the Deuteronomic scheme. It probably arose in the time of Solomon when efforts were made by the Jerusalemite (*i.e.*, Zadokid) priesthood to harmonise and reduce to system the different tribal cults of Israel with respect to food. Such a movement would be a natural corollary on the religious side to the strong political tendency to unification which prevailed in the early part of the tenth century B.C.

Here our brief survey must close. This manual appears to be as nearly exhaustive of topics as a handbook on such a scale can possibly be. We miss some adequate treatment of prophets and prophecy, which would involve an additional chapter. Another subject which has been omitted is that of pleasure-gardens, upon which the bare reference in p. 211 is insufficient. Here, probably, Assyro-Babylonian influence wrought a considerable change in the standard of Hebrew civilization. See Sayce's "Social Life among the Assyrians and Babylonians," pp. 14, 23 *fol.*, and consult the original text of the cuneiform account of Sennacherib's *paradeisos*, with transcription and translation, published by Mr Evetts in the *Zeitsch. für Assy.*, vol. iii. p. 311 *fol.* See also Meissner and Rost's "Bauinschriften Sanherib's," pp. 5 and 14 *fol.* The Garden of Eden of the Jehovist resembles rather a Babylonian *paradeisos* than a Hebrew garden. The step between Sennacherib's park and Ahab's "garden of herbs," or "garden of Uzzah," was probably considerable. The point is of some interest to criticism, as it throws a side-light upon the probable date of the Song of Songs. See among other passages iv. 12-15.

We confidently commend this volume to all theological students conversant with German, and we heartily congratulate Dr Benzing on the admirable fruits of his industry. He has rendered a great service to all lovers of the Old Testament by this clear, succinct, and readable treatise covering a wide array of subjects. A fuller treatment of some topics may, we trust, be hoped for in a larger volume at no distant date. Meanwhile, it stands alone as the worthiest manual upon an important department of study upon which floods of light have been thrown by recent research. OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

Witnesses to the Unseen, and other Essays.

*By Wilfrid Ward. London: Macmillan & Co. 8vo,
pp. xxix. 309. Price, 10s. 6d.*

WITH the exception of the Introduction, the essays which make up this volume have all appeared in various periodicals during the last twelve years. Their subjects, besides the one to which the book owes its somewhat sensational title, are—The Clothes of Religion, New Wine in Old Bottles, Some Aspects of Newman's Influence, Philalethes—Some Words on a Misconception of Cardinal Newman, and The Wish to Believe,—this last taking up 154 pages out of 333.

Mr Ward tells us in the Introduction that the Essays are to be regarded as a contribution to the solution of the problem, "What is and what ought to be the influence of the public opinion of our time, as represented in its intellectual leaders—of what the Germans call the *Zeitgeist*—in determining our own convictions?" I do not for my part see the relevance of the work as a whole to this purpose; but the author's answer to the question is in general that it both is and ought to be large, though it is far larger than it ought to be. Illustrating the "subtle and impalpable means whereby the *Zeitgeist* influences us," he says, "to one age metaphysical argument appeals powerfully. Another age, weary of the unsolved questions metaphysic has left, and of the unpractical and unreal problems which have been mooted in its name, refuses to be affected by any metaphysical argument at all. One age is sensitive to complete and coherent logical polemic, and is severe in its criticism of any logical flaw in the form of an argument. Another is alive to the narrowness of the field which logic covers, and to the comparative force of massive though unsymmetrical proofs. It is affected rather by wide and suggestive views, and refuses perhaps in the end to regard the most urgent logical dilemmas as having a claim on its decision. To one age, the manifold phenomena of the universe suggest most obviously the direct action of supernatural agencies; while an age which has realised the extent of the underlying uniformities of natural law may be unaffected by the strongest evidence for a miraculous occurrence." The attitude of men to the great religious problems must obviously be greatly determined by such influences. "If, for example, miracles are regarded as impossible, the invocation of their testimony will discredit rather than support the claims of Christianity; whilst, on the other hand, the unspoken and unanalysed suggestions of their own moral nature and experience will acquire a value which was unknown to another age."

This is a true diagnosis so far as it goes. Those, especially, whose business it is to present the Christian faith in systematic form, are

almost constantly sensible of a subtle element of antagonism in the minds of those whom they address ; whilst they quite as frequently have occasion to note that presentations thereof which they would characterise as vague and illogical, though they may appeal powerfully to certain sentiments and emotions regarded as moral or spiritual, awaken a ready response. "The Christian Consciousness," for example, in what a variety of ways is it made to do duty as if it were an authority almost as capable of *ex cathedra* decisions in matters of doctrine and life as the Pope himself ! Yet, can it really claim to be anything better than a form of the *Zeitgeist*, which, like the *Zeitgeist* itself, undergoes changes not only from generation to generation, but from country to country, yea, sometimes even from class to class ?

Mr Ward calls attention to various signs of the age not being quite content with its Agnosticism and Scepticism ; of its feeling that "there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in our philosophy ;" and sees in them the suggestion that an individual will do well not to throw himself unreservedly and without question into the currents of thought specially characteristic of his time, but to keep his head, remembering that "while a man living in an age of faith had good reason to apply a habit of criticism which he would then find little general, one who lives in an age of criticism will do well to give his attention very closely to many of the phenomena of an age of faith as a corrective." The advice conveyed in these words is very curious. "Correct," he says, "the habit of destructive criticism," by recalling the phenomena of an age when criticism was justified. Does he not seem to suggest that, as an age of faith justified criticism, so an age of criticism justifies faith ? Must not the modern critic reply ?—We are but doing boldly and thoroughly what the critics you approve of did in a trembling half-hearted way :—how futile then to recommend us to try to right ourselves by closely attending to the phenomena which excited their antagonism !

It is possible that Mr Ward meant to press upon his contemporaries the double duty of being critical on criticism, and duly weighing all phenomena—in this case, religious phenomena past and present—but his way of doing this is, to say the least, unfortunate. At this point, in fact, as at many others, he is hampered by his Romish presuppositions.

The sentence preceding the one just criticised contains a confusion which is surprising in so able a writer :—"The reasoning of him who views each event as the immediate interposition of Providence is not more at fault than that of the man who denies to his God a power of modifying natural forces which he allows to every man who throws a stone or lights a fire." The objection to miracles—

which is the matter under consideration—is that changes are wrought in the world-system by a force outside the system ; whereas a man who produces the changes referred to is surely a part of the system, and whilst acting in the way specified as really a mundane physical force as gravitation or electricity.

The kernel of the first essay may be said to be this:—"As an age of servility to pleasure and abject shrinking from pain needs as witness the hero and saint to whom both are despicable ; and an age of sensuality men who saw pleasure and despised it, pain and embraced it ; so an age like our own, the difficulties of which are primarily intellectual, needs men who see and feel these difficulties vividly and yet see clearly beyond them the highest truth which to others they render obscure." Very truly—if I rightly catch his meaning,—though in part somewhat obscurely, he remarks, that the great fault of the sceptical mind is "viewing our capacities for knowledge as identical with our capacities for speculation and refraining from the activity and movement which are the natural corrective to relativity and onesidedness"; and treating "religious evidence as purely metaphysical or as purely historical, instead of measuring it in the actual working of life, in action as well as in theory ; as a belief in the living soul and in its effects on that soul as well as in its previous condition of a creed or set of formulæ ; as an expression of the moral nature as well as the object of mental contemplation."

Three witnesses are brought forward—Kant, Newman, Tennyson.

The first, "by carrying to the utmost limits conceivable his theoretical scepticism, while at the same time his own faith and enthusiasm were unshaken, taught the lesson of firmness in obedience to the deepest practical convictions and highest insight, in spite of difficulties in detailed analysis which to the individual intellect may seem unanswerable." Newman's version of the lesson, we are told, was that "no number of difficulties need amount to one doubt, —'difficulty and doubt are uncommensurable.'" And Tennyson, in "dwelling on the wanderings of the human intellect, the thousand questions it can ask for one that it can answer, the difficulties of formal proof, the different views we take in different moods of the same proof, the relativity of all knowledge if it is analysed, and yet the force with which beliefs, which such thoughts seem to destroy, justify themselves by their own intensity and light," "enforces on the whole the same doctrine." With Kant the sense of law is foremost. For Tennyson the depths, revealed in the power of the human heart to love, occupy a large space. While Newman—combining in his nature the philosopher and the poet—finds at once the sense of law and of deepest personal love in conscience ; and appeals to both as testifying to a "personal law-giver and a God of love." This

essay is the most interesting and the most satisfactory in the volume, perhaps because in it the author seems least under the influence of his rôle of advocate of Rome. At the same time, I cannot help the feeling previously indicated, that there is a certain exaggeration in styling these three men "Witnesses to the Unseen." Judging by the quotation given from Kant, he would seem best to fulfil the author's requirement, that a "full appreciation of the difficulties of each problem should be conjoined with unwavering faith";—a rather remarkable circumstance. Tennyson, on the contrary, impresses us as one who alternated pretty constantly between doubt and faith. And as to Newman, apart from the incongruity of selecting a man as a representative witness to the unseen, who sought refuge from doubts and fears anent the unseen in a visible, earthly, infallible authority, I do not, for my part, believe that he ever attained to "unwavering faith." Did he ever get beyond the stage of believing that he believed? Could he indeed do so,—he, with Protestantism in his blood, a convert to a church whose claims to divine authority rest on the assumption that in matters of the unseen world reason—i.e., the human intellect—is unable to attain to certitude?

"New Wine in Old Bottles" is mainly devoted to the explanation and justification of the Catholic principle or practice of finding a "*modus vivendi* with what is really valuable in intellectual movements or really true in scientific achievement"; to do which, he says, is "a special privilege of a living authoritative tribunal, which from the nature of the case cannot be clearly asserted by any ruling power whose nature is documentary."

The idea of a "*modus vivendi* with what is really valuable or really true," strikes a Protestant as, to say the least, peculiar. To what purpose is the Church a "living authoritative tribunal" if that is all it can do? Ought it not rather unmistakeably to give its sanction to what is really valuable and true, instead of refusing to "commit herself to new opinions," and prohibiting them "in private persons as a matter of discipline." The illustration in support of his position which Mr Ward draws from the application of the general principle of right and wrong to particular cases of conduct is irrelevant and misleading.

The essay on "Some Aspects of Newman's Influence" is full of just and true psychological observation; though not quite free from hero-worship.

"Philalethes" is a defence of Newman's "Essays on Ecclesiastical Miracles" against the strictures of Dr Edwin Abbott in his work "Philomythus." As usual, there is truth on both sides. Dr. Abbott has perhaps spoken too strongly; but Mr Ward fails to remove the appearance of over-subtlety, over-refinement and lack of

perfect straightforwardness and transparency in the line pursued by Newman.

The longest essay, that entitled "The Wish to Believe" is, to my mind, the least satisfactory. It is a dialogue in three sections between Darlington, a barrister, who whilst studying at Oxford had been overawed by those with whom he came into contact, and by authorities like Hume, Gibbon, Huxley, and Spencer, into the conclusion that to expect "certainty on questions connected with another world" is absurd, and that the only thing a sensible, rational man can do is to leave them alone, on the one side; and Fathers Ashley, Davenport and Walton—chiefly the last—on the other, that is, the Catholic side. Walton is an expert disputant—as Rome breeds them; Darlington makes as feeble fight as an educated man, whose knowledge of Christianity and what can be said in its favour is that common among lay members of the Anglican Church, might be expected to do. The dialogue, considered from a literary point of view, lacks vitality and naturalness. In reading it I could not help constantly recalling Goethe's words, "man merkt die Absicht und wird verstimmt."

The position taken up by Darlington is that the problem of Christianity ought to be approached in a calm, dispassionate, judicial spirit; and that he who thus examines its evidences will be most likely to arrive at the truth. The Catholic disputants all treat a spirit of that kind as pretty nearly identical with indifference, or apathy. Hence the remark by one of them, that if he were a prisoner he would rather his judge were somewhat prejudiced against him than that he had "neither bias nor sense of responsibility." A man of the latter kind might "condemn him through mere sleepiness or inattentiveness." Over and over again Darlington urges that the judicial spirit he desiderates does not imply indifference in the sense of not realising the importance of the matter; but only that the evidence should be examined impartially with full readiness to conclude on either side; but as often as not the Romish disputant confounds indifference with judicial impartiality. Similarly too, after a curious sleight of hand fashion, he repeatedly interchanges two totally different positions, as, for example, in the following sentence:—"The fact which makes it all-important for a man to *know the truth*, is a fact which makes it impossible for him to do otherwise than wish and intensely wish, that *one side should prove true rather than the other*." (The italics are the author's.) To wish to know *the truth* is to wish that *one side* should prove true: or put as it should be, to wish to know whether of *two sides* is true is to wish that *one* only of two sides should prove true. A similar juggle is performed in the following words put into Walton's mouth:—"I was deter-

mined to get at *the truth*; I believed Christianity to be the truth, and I was resolved, if there was a way to seeing its truth more clearly, that I would find it; and I have found it." He begins by believing Christianity to be the truth; then he sets out to get at the truth; getting at the truth is seeing the truth more clearly; and finally, seeing the *truth*, which must surely mean seeing it as true, is "forsaking his own reasonings" and "listening to the voice of God speaking through His chosen oracle which sanctioned his creed."

This state of mind, we are further gravely assured is "a security for impartiality far higher than indifference." An impartial judge would be apt to say that the one attitude was as poor a security as the other, for impartiality. Elsewhere again he speaks of "mere impartiality," which is thus by the method of insinuation converted into indifference.

That a writer of such ability and learning as Mr Wilfrid Ward should seriously indulge in trifling like this brings out the true force of the words he uses in describing the change that came over Walton after his conversion to Rome:—"When he had once satisfied himself that he had found a living guide and teacher, he considerably *lost his intellectual interests*, which had ever been concerned more or less with inquiry into religious subjects, and betook himself on his reception into the Church to active missionary work as a priest." Romanism seems to impair not only the faculty of vision in religious things, but even that of reasoning logically about them.

The positions set forth are supported by various illustrations, some relevant, others as irrelevant as the reasoning is fallacious. Though I have taken them out of their setting, to the best of my belief, I have not misrepresented them.

By way of general justification of my criticism I will add the author's classification of the possible "attitudes of mind in religious enquiry." "We have, first the credulous attitude, which implies flippancy in belief, readiness in its adoption, equal readiness in changing it, so slight a depth of conviction that belief can hardly be distinguished from imagination; an easy surrender to ideas begotten of hope or fear." "We have next the *law-court* attitude of mind, excellent for investigating matters in which the evidence is all expressed in words, and which arouse in us mainly a speculative interest—in which the true state of the case has no bearing on our own personal welfare. Such an attitude demands absolute impartiality and indifference as to what conclusion the evidence may point to." "Lastly there is the *religious* attitude of mind, properly so-called. And this is the attitude for viewing all proofs connected with knowledge which is of vital importance to one's own self. The first essential of this attitude is a deep sense

of the importance of the knowledge and of the bearing of the fact to be known upon oneself. . . . The intense longing for knowledge," thence arising, "is inseparably bound up with the intense wish to believe in the happier" of two "alternatives—a wish making you as keenly sensitive of its falsehood (if so be) as of its truth."

Credulity, indifference and bias—these are the only attitudes men can take up in approaching the problem of Christianity! Is Mr Ward really unable to conceive of even a "law-court" enquirer, who, whilst impartial and judicial, is intensely anxious, that a true conclusion should be reached—the more anxious, the more important the question under judgment? Nay, indeed, could he be said to be proceeding in a judicial, impartial spirit, if he did not let a case produce care and longing to get at the truth, proportional to the importance of the issues at stake?

In common with all Protestant Christian believers, I am quite ready to endorse the author's positions that a recognition alike of the general and personal importance of Christianity, not only as knowledge but for life—life here and hereafter—if *Christianity be true*, so far from being a hindrance to proper, yea impartial, investigation of its claims, is, on the contrary, a condition thereof; and that a right conclusion can only be reached by pursuing various lines of reasoning and weighing various kinds of evidence. But had this been his meaning the whole argument should have been differently constructed. The truth is, Mr Ward holds a brief for the Romish Church; and both what he says and what he doesn't say, and how he says what he says, is controlled—perhaps, for the most part, unconsciously—by the exigencies of a desperate case.

D. W. SIMON.

The Skeptics of the French Renaissance.

By John Owen, Rector of East Anstey. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 8vo, pp. xiii. 416. Price, 10s. 6d.

MR OWEN's previous volume on the Italian Skeptics would have been sufficient to establish his credit as an erudite and enlightened critic; the essays collected here will add to his reputation. Of Montaigne and Pascal (both skeptics in Mr Owen's sense of the term) there is perhaps nothing new to be said; but Ramus, Charron, Sanchez, and La Mothe-le-Vayer are much less known in this country. At p. 602 we find a saying of Gabriel Naudé of the effect that, after the Bible, the best of all books is the *Sagesse* of Charron. What percentage of educated men, even of educated Frenchmen, can honestly say that they have read the work thus

highly praised? We are greatly indebted to writers like Mr Owen, who keep for Charron and the rest some place in the history of thought, while at the same time they dispense us from the task of digging out the facts for ourselves. In the notes to this volume, and in the index to references, we find ample evidence of the care with which the author has sifted and arranged his materials. Three things we have against Mr Owen. In the first place, he stands responsible for a good many small mistakes in French spelling—mistakes probably due to insufficient correction of proofs. In the second place, he has taken skepticism for his special subject without telling us very distinctly what he means by the term. Sometimes he uses it as equivalent to the spirit of free inquiry; he seems to assume that we all are or ought to be skeptics; at other times he speaks of Pyrrhonism, the belief that there is no certain knowledge to be attained, in a tone of dissatisfaction if not of disapproval. In the third place, Mr Owen seems to think, quite erroneously, that his essays are not good enough to stand alone; each essay is preceded and followed by passages of dialogue. To succeed in this form of composition, a certain measure of dramatic power is required; the persons who figure in Mr Owen's are too like one another to inspire any genuine interest. Trevor and Arundel talk very much in the same style, and Miss Leycester's persistent vivacity does not alter the fact that she is only Trevor or Arundel "*déguisé en femme*." We do not wish to detract from the expression of our gratitude to Mr Owen for much curious and valuable knowledge; but in a Review which is "nothing if not critical" these remarks are not out of place.

T. RALEIGH.

The Life and Correspondence of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., late Dean of Westminster.

By Rowland E. Prothero, M.A., with the co-operation of the Very Rev. G. G. Bradley, D.D., Dean of Westminster. In two volumes. London: John Murray. 8vo, pp. 536, 599. Price 32s.

No ecclesiastic of his time was better known to his fellow-countrymen than the late Dean of Westminster. His chivalrous temper, and the serene indifference with which he bore the alternate invectives of the two great parties in the Church, made him a marked and separate figure in the ecclesiastical world. Much that is recorded in his biography is therefore already familiar. The complete record, however, which is largely composed of Stanley's own

letters, makes a distinct addition to our knowledge of his character, by revealing the motives which guided him in his public career. Some of those who admired him most did not take him very seriously as a religious teacher, regarding him as a historian and literary artist, who would have been more in his place in a Chair of History, than as Dean of the Abbey Church of Westminster. The letters now published by his biographer make it plain that Stanley himself, was throughout life devoted to his religious vocation, and that if, like Erasmus, he refrained from definite doctrinal teaching, it was because he was of opinion that he would best serve his generation by speaking to it through the parables of history. Living at a time when charity and even religion itself were in danger of perishing amid the fury of doctrinal and ecclesiastical strifes, he sought to make history the peacemaker by showing that in the past, one and the same Christian life had been found in men who held the most diverse doctrinal opinions. S. Paul and Loyola, Gregory VII. and John Wesley, widely as they differed in their theological and ecclesiastical views, held the same faith and the same hope. Stanley believed that the general recognition of this unity of Christian life in the past, would silence invective, and quench the unholy fires of controversy, while it would leave Christians free to adhere to their special theological and ecclesiastical opinions. In his introductory lecture at Oxford, as Professor of Ecclesiastical History, he thus avowed his faith in the reconciling power of Christian History.

"The wrath which is kindled by an anathema, by an opinion, by an argument, is often turned away by a homely fact. It is like suddenly meeting an enemy face to face, whom we have known only by report: he is different to what we expected; we cannot resist the pressure of his hand and the glance of his eye; he has ceased to be an abstraction; he has become a person. How many elaborate arguments respecting terms of salvation and terms of communion are shivered into pieces, yet without offence, almost without resistance, as they are 'walked through' by such heathens as Socrates, such Nonconformists as Howard, such Quakers as Elizabeth Fry."

The view stated in the above quotation underlies all Stanley's theological and literary efforts. It was adopted, as we shall see, at a very early age, and he never swerved from it, although it brought down much odium upon his head, and sometimes the sorrowful disapproval of friends whom he revered.

Arthur Penrhyn Stanley was the son of Edward Stanley, brother of the first Lord Stanley of Alderley. His father was Rector of Alderley, and afterwards Bishop of Norwich. Bishop Stanley was a staunch Liberal and an uncompromising opponent of ecclesiastical intolerance; he incurred a good deal of censure in his day from the

Low Church party, because of his reproofs of the language they were in habit of using about the Church of Rome. The son was sent to Rugby in 1829. During the last three years of his stay at Rugby he was under the daily teaching of Dr Arnold. Dean Vaughan, who was his school-fellow, describes the intensity of his effort in school and chapel not to let one word or one tone of the master's voice escape him. Almost everything that fell from Arnold's lips was transferred to his note-books. He completely imbibed Arnold's spirit, and adopted most of his opinions, being specially attracted by his theory of a comprehensive Church. In 1834 he went to Oxford as a scholar of Balliol. The Tractarian Movement was at its height, and Stanley was greatly impressed by Newman. He never, however, became a disciple, and he soon came to the conclusion that the doctrine of Apostolical Succession was unchristian and unanglican. But while he continued in agreement with Arnold's theology, he did not join in Arnold's strong condemnation of the Tractarian Movement and of its leaders. Of Newman we find him writing in his early undergraduate days. "Newman and Arnold seem at present almost antagonistic powers, whereas they are of the same essence, so to speak." Of the Oxford Movement he said, at a somewhat later period, that it was the greatest religious movement of the nineteenth century, as the Evangelical Revival was the greatest movement of the eighteenth century. When Arnold wrote his famous article on Dr Hampden and the Oxford Malignants, Stanley, while agreeing with its main contentions, regretted the vehemence of its tone, and especially the language employed about the leaders of the High Church party. An undergraduate who could adopt so impartial an attitude in the midst of a fierce debate, must have possessed unusual intellectual independence, and no little confidence in the moral rectitude of his own convictions. What his opinions were is apparent from two extracts from letters which were written before he went to Oxford. In one letter he says: "Alas, that a Church that has so divine a service should keep its long list of articles! I am strengthened more than ever in my opinion, that there only should be one, viz., 'I believe that Christ is both God and man.'" Again he writes with special reference to Unitarians, with whom he had some pleasant intercourse. "Unitarians are, I think, excluded from the outward Catholic Church as a body, but their individual members are not so from the communion of Saints, which I take to be the communion of all good men, in all ages and countries, of all who have loved God and served men; including therefore chiefly real Christians, but also the Jewish saints, and all those, such as Socrates, etc., whom we value among the Pagans, or those whom we might have to value among Unitarians and Deists."

After a university course of exceptional distinction, Stanley was in 1838 elected a Fellow of University College; for Balliol refused to have him, because he was supposed to be a disciple of Arnold. A year later he was ordained, after some scruples about subscription to the Athanasian Creed, which were occasioned not by the teaching, but by the anathemas of the Creed. After his ordination to the priesthood, he was appointed College tutor, and this gave him his first opportunity of showing his power of influencing young men. He had one great qualification. He liked young men. His heart, he writes, always leaped up at the sight of an undergraduate, for he saw in him the representative of the future. The character of University College did not stand high, but his efforts to elevate it were crowned with such unprecedented success that an unusually large number of the *élite* of the best schools were sent to it; so keen was the interest excited by his divinity lectures that his pupils continued to attend them in the very crisis and agony of the final work for the degrees, and also obtained permission to introduce friends, which, says Dr Bradley, was the first germ of those inter-collegiate lectures which have revolutionised Oxford teaching. He had some drawbacks as a tutor, we are told; he was neither a moral philosopher nor a metaphysician; and although he was a good scholar, his interest was languid in the minuter points of philological scholarship. But he could make history live again, and he drew forth its moral and religious lessons in a manner which left an ineffaceable impression upon his hearers. He gave to his pupils, we are told, a perfect enthusiasm for the study of the scriptures, which under the magic of his treatment became full of moving life and present-day meanings. One of his pupils writes that in treating of the Politics of Aristotle he would recommend his pupils carefully to note peculiarities with three varieties of coloured pencils, under the following heads: truths for all time, *red*; truths for the time of Aristotle, *blue*; and then, with a humorous twinkle of his eye, truths for the schools, *black*.

The lectures on the Greek New Testament to the students of University, were probably the germ of the *Commentary on the Epistles to the Corinthians*, published some ten years later. The volumes were intended as companion volumes to those published by Dr Jowett on the Romans and Galatians. They were severely criticised at the time of their appearance by a 'certain Mr Lightfoot of Cambridge,' who pointed out a number of errors in scholarship. Stanley, who always treated mere outcry against his writings with serene neglect, admitted the justice of Lightfoot's criticisms, and did his best to amend his errors. Perhaps one consequence of the criticism was, that he ceased henceforth to write commentaries. The work on the Corinthians, in spite of its philological deficiencies was

a real contribution to the understanding of the words, and especially of the character, of St Paul. Many attempts have since been made to popularise the results of exegesis; but most of those attempts want the note of distinction which marked this work of Stanley, who by the simple effort of the historical imagination transported his readers into the past, while the modern populariser too often transforms the past into the present, thus violating historical truth and sometimes religious decorum. The *Sermons and Essays on the Apostolic Age* were another contribution which he made to the understanding of Christian antiquity.

Mr Prothero has naturally much to say regarding Stanley's travels, which were indeed closely connected with the main purpose of his life. He loved to visit strange people and strange churches; and he found in such visits, not only interest, but inspiration. Many of the best pages he ever wrote were simple transcripts of the impression which historical scenes left upon his susceptible imagination. As a traveller, his interests were limited. He was rather indifferent to the beauties of nature, speaking disrespectfully even of the Alps. He never entered a picture gallery except to see portraits, and the great cathedrals left him unmoved, unless they had been the scene of events of human interest. What he cared to see were the scenes of great events. As Mr Prothero admits, his taste was somewhat grandiose; he could not, like Wordsworth, perceive the moral grandeur of the humble and familiar; he required a lofty stage. For his travels, he prepared himself with great care, reading everything he could find about the places he designed to visit. Although by no means robust, he cheerfully endured privation and fatigue in order to reach a place where a battle was fought, or a Church council had assembled. When he reached the goal of his pilgrimage, all the associations of the place rushed in upon his mind like an overpouring flood, and he almost lost consciousness of the present through his intense realization of the historic past. Having once seen a place, however, he did not care to revisit it, being unwilling to weaken the vivid recollection of his first rapturous gaze. The readers of *Sinai and Palestine* do not require to be told that Stanley could describe historic scenes as few before him have done, and some of his letters in the biography are quite equal to his best printed pages. His descriptions of Greek scenery and his remarks on its connection with Greek History are full of vivid insight. Some of his casual expressions on places which he just saw, are quite memorable for their accuracy and their freshness. For example, he names Nuremberg "A Pompeii of the Middle Ages." Of Prague he writes: "Not to my mind strictly Oriental, nor even Slavonic purely; it is, I think, what you would expect from a city of a barbaric race struggling in the arms of a civilised world."

In 1851 Stanley left Oxford for Canterbury, having been appointed a Canon of the Cathedral, but in 1856 he returned to Oxford as Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History. In his introductory lecture he quoted Bunyan. We observe that a writer in a recent number of *Blackwood's Magazine* comments on the bad taste of quoting Bunyan on such an occasion and to such an audience. But surely a Professor of Ecclesiastical History may quote an English classic, even although it was written by a tinker and a dissenter. His writings had thoroughly aroused the suspicions of the High Church party, and Dr Pusey who loved him personally, was unable to congratulate him on his appointment. In a letter printed in the Memoir, Dr Pusey writes that the pupils of Jowett and Stanley would certainly reject all positive Christianity, if they followed the teaching of their masters to their logical conclusions. Stanley reminded his gentle censor, very courteously but firmly, that other teachers besides himself and Mr Jowett were charged with sending their pupils on before them into regions not acknowledged by the Church of England.

As Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Stanley was not at first so successful as he had been as a college tutor. The awful dignity of the Regius Professor kept students at a distance, but he contrived by degrees to break down the barrier, and became quite happy in his work. The biography contains some remarkable testimonies to the moral influence which he exercised on a certain class of students, who would listen to no other teacher, and to whom the atmosphere of Oxford itself had become distasteful. John Richard Green had gone to Oxford a hard reader and a passionate High Churchman. Two years of residence left him idle and irreligious. What Stanley was to him in this crisis of his life will be best understood by quoting his own words in a letter addressed to Stanley.

"I was utterly miserable when I wandered into your class-room, and my recollection of what followed is not so much of any definite words as of a great unburthening. Then, and afterwards, I heard you speak of work, not as a thing of classes and fellowships, but as something worthy for its own sake—worthy because it made us like the Great Worker. That sermon on Work was like a revelation to me. 'If you cannot or will not work at the work which Oxford gives you, at anyrate work at something.' I took up my old boy-dream History again. I think I have been a steady worker ever since. And so in religion; it was not so much a creed that you taught me, as fairness. You were liberal; you pointed forward; you believed in a future as other 'Liberals' did, but you were not, like them, unjust to the present or to the past. I found that old vague reverence of mine for personal goodness, which alone remained to me, widened in your teaching into a true catholicity. I used to think, as I left

your lecture-room, of how many different faiths and persons you had spoken, and how you had revealed and taught me to love the good that was in them all. I cannot tell you how that great principle of fairness has helped me ever since; how in my reading it has helped me out of partisanship and mere hero-worship. In my parish it used to disclose to me the real sterling worth of obstructive churchwardens or meddling committee-men. But it has helped me most of all in my realisation of the Church, that Church of all men and all things 'working together for good,' drawn on through error and ignorance by and to Him who is wisdom and truth."

It is admitted by Mr Prothero that Stanley was not so highly esteemed by the older men in Oxford as by the young. He lacked, he says, the resolute concentration on a single branch of knowledge, the sustained attention to any one line of thought, which is essential to intellectual leaders. But he was a social power of the highest order; what Mr Goldwin Smith calls the charm of his mediation drew together men of the most opposite opinions, and friendships were formed through his influence which would have been thought impossible. Of his love of peace, Mr Prothero writes:—"He never, it may be almost said with perfect truth, had a feud or a coldness with any of his associates which was not caused by his taking up the cudgels on behalf of someone, often a stranger to himself, who was attacked. Even then the alienation was never on his side. If a friend or acquaintance insisted on breaking with him, he would watch his opportunity to win him back, sometimes by acts of thoughtful kindness, sometimes by inviting him to his table to meet distinguished guests."

One cannot help surmising that Stanley's conduct, gentle and courteous as it was, must have been sometimes irritating to antagonists who, having delivered their testimony against him in their best polemic form, found that Stanley was quite unconcerned save for them, and that he treated them as he would have treated wayward boys who had lost their temper. Did it not betray something of the indifference of the born-aristocrat to the clamour of his inferiors?

Stanley took an active part in the controversy which broke out on the publication of the once famous *Essays and Reviews*; but, as usual, his position was perfectly independent. He disapproved of the plan, and of the exclusively negative character of the volume. "No book," he wrote, "which treats of religious questions can hope to make its way to the heart of the English nation unless it gives at the same time that it takes away." But he was moved to indignation by the attacks made upon the authors, and especially by the Episcopal condemnation of the volume. In an article in the *Edin-*

burgh Review, of great controversial ability, he protested against the injustice with which the writers had been treated, and he pointed out that some of the bishops were themselves responsible in their printed writings, for the same opinions which they now denounced as infidel. The article, it is said, prevented Stanley from being made a bishop. It was rumoured, after the death of Archbishop Whately, that he had been offered the See of Dublin. The offer was never actually made, nor would he have accepted it. In a letter addressed to Archbishop Tait, who had urged him to accept it, if offered, Stanley replied that he could not seriously defend the Irish Church as an institution; and that its position as a "Missionary Church" was even more untenable than the institution itself.

Trench went to Dublin, and Stanley was offered the Deanery of Westminster, which he accepted. Many of his friends regretted his decision, for his own sake as well as for the sake of Oxford. They feared that it would interrupt his studies; all his best literary work was certainly done in Canterbury and Oxford, and not in London. It gave him, however, a seat in Convocation, where he proved himself to be a dexterous and effective debater, but one cannot help thinking that such work was hardly likely to call forth his best powers. But Stanley was deeply attached to the Church of England, and was willing to make personal sacrifices if he could influence its counsels in the direction of reasonable thought and enlightened ecclesiastical action. Having married Lady Augusta Bruce on December 23, 1863, he was installed as Dean of Westminster on January 9th, 1864.

He desired as Dean of Westminster to make the Abbey a meeting-place of men belonging to the three schools of thought within the Church of England; his failure to do so was one of the great disappointments of his life. He invited representatives both of the High Church and of the Evangelical parties, to unite with his own friends, and to preach at special services which he was preparing to hold in the Abbey on Sunday evenings. The leading Low Churchmen accepted the invitation, but Pusey, Keble and Liddon all declined, on the ground that they could not identify themselves with Maurice, Jowett or even with Stanley himself. The correspondence that passed between Stanley and Liddon is specially interesting. Liddon speaks with warm regard of Stanley, and also of Maurice, writing regarding the latter that it was a very perplexing mystery of the moral world, that so good a man should be in error, but, he adds, "Mere moral goodness is not a sufficient basis for engaging in a public profession to teach the people a common faith. You speak, my dear Mr Dean, of a period of transition. Transition to what? One current of thought flows towards Mr J. Stuart Mill,

and Positivism beyond, and another towards Baur and the School of Tübingen, and the desolate waste beyond that. The Girondins of revolution have their day ; but they make way for its Jacobins."

During seventeen eventful years Stanley, as Dean of Westminster, laboured to fulfil his early religious ideal. From his pulpit in the Abbey, by means of his numerous printed addresses, and by his speeches in convocation, he advocated a comprehensive church and a liberal theology. His hope was that the Church of England by manifesting a liberal and catholic spirit would draw within its borders those who were alienated from its doctrine and polity. In his later years he was accustomed to admit that his efforts had not been crowned with great success. He had but a small following among the clergy, who were becoming more deeply imbued with the sacerdotal spirit, and he could not conceal from himself, that agnosticism was making progress among the educated laity. In 1877 we find him writing to Professor Max Müller that the face of Providence seemed set against a reasonable progress of Christianity ; and again we find him saying, "This generation is lost ; it is either plunged in dogmatism or agnosticism ;" but even when uttering such complaints and admitting that he had lost the ear of the public, he did not altogether despair. "I look forward," he adds, "to the generation to come." Sanguine enthusiasts, and Stanley was an enthusiast, are often disappointed in their closing years, when they look back upon what has been accomplished, and compare it with their early hopes. Stanley had, however, exercised a wider influence than he supposed, having in an age of transition given to a multitude of laymen a provisional form of religious thought which enabled them to cling to the central truths of the Christian religion in spite of perplexities occasioned by the new discoveries of science and of history. Archbishop Tait said of him after his death : "No clergyman, perhaps, who ever lived exercised over the public at large, and especially over the literary and thoughtful portion of it, so fascinating an influence." Stanley was an admirable custos of the Abbey. As years went on, he loved it with an ever-deepening affection, and he was always pleased to descend upon its antiquarian treasures and its historic associations. One cannot, however, refuse some sympathy to the ecclesiastically-minded clergymen who complained that its character as a Christian church was obscured, by the constant references of the Dean to it as a cemetery of the mighty dead, and a treasure-house of memorials of English History. But in Stanley's mind the English Church and the English people were so intimately connected that he never cared to distinguish between the secular and the sacred. His conduct with regard to the Abbey was the subject of much acrimonious controversy, in which the High Church newspapers took a leading part.

He sometimes thought in his later days that he had lost the confidence of the English people, but the universal grief called forth by the tidings of his death showed that he had mistaken the outcry of a factious minority for the voice of England. He died on the 18th of July 1881, and on the 25th he was buried in the Chapel of Henry VII. by the side of his wife.

The long delay in the appearance of Stanley's Life is explained in an introduction contributed by the present Dean of Westminster. It was Stanley's wish that his Life should be written by Sir George Grove. As he was unable to undertake it, owing to other engagements, the work was entrusted to Mr Walrond, Stanley's companion on his famous Eastern journey. On Mr Walrond's death, Dean Bradley took up the task, only, however, to lay it down again, and the volumes now issued are from the pen of Mr Prothero, who has acted the part of editor rather than of an independent biographer. Stanley was the most indefatigable of letter writers; and as his letters were carefully treasured by loving friends, the story of his life is mostly given in his own words. On the publication of the life of Arnold, Stanley noted with keen pleasure that the impression made upon the public was exclusively of Arnold and not of himself. No higher praise can be given to Mr Prothero's work than that it recalls by a similar characteristic the most charming biography of modern times.

JOHN GIBB.

Theism as grounded in Human Nature, historically and critically handled, being the Burnett Lectures for 1892 and 1893.

By William L. Davidson, M.A., LL.D., London: Longmans, Green & Co. 8vo, pp. 490. Price, 15s.

In these Burnett Lectures there is much vigorous thinking, and an abundance of incisive as well as lucid criticism. Their author has read extensively, and has kept an open eye, as well as preserved a deeply reverent spirit, throughout his studies. As a philosophical performance, the book is vastly superior to Mr Davidson's previous one, *The Logic of Definition*. It is very suggestive, although not specially original, and it should be helpful to all students of the theistic problem. Occasionally, however, in his polemical attacks, the author overshoots his mark, and his critical arrows do not always hit the white.

He begins modestly, and quotes Simonides' well-known request, when asked to answer the question, "What is God?"—first for a day, and then for other days, to consider it. He indicates three

ways of answering the problems of Theism—(1) the effort to "trace the origin" of the notion of God; (2) the study of the roots of the idea "in human nature"; and (3) the attempt to explain the universe, minus the idea of God. "It is the second of these three attitudes that is taken" in this volume. Mr Davidson considers Theism to be a doctrine *psychologically grounded in human nature*, and therefore rationally defensible. He remarks truly that "the reverent spirit is the earnest spirit and the open spirit, and to it necessarily revelations are emphatically made. It is also the tolerant and sympathetic spirit" (p. 6). With his way of stating the problem in debate, and the many wise just and clever things he says in the course of his argument, every Theist will be in sympathy; and for his powerful defence of its rational evidence they will be grateful, even when they differ from him, *toto cælo*, in details.

He says "the method I adopt is a very simple one. It consists in a statement and analysis of theistic experience, together with an explicit reference to its psychological grounds and logical implications. This, and nothing more." He appeals to experience, and he tries to interpret experience. He holds that the theistic interpretation of the universe has been evolved as the only rational explanation of things, but he assumes this dogmatically, just as the mediævalists assumed their postulates; and he contrasts with it what he is pleased to consider as the helpless position of mere Intuitionists. He refers his readers to his own previous book for an explanation of the meaning of "Intuition," and he affirms that Intuition "has been tried and has failed" in Religion.

He gives us no information as to those who have used it, and failed to use it well; or as to the "noble army" of intellectual athletes who have tried it, and found it wanting; while it must be said that he wholly misconstrues its function, in the sphere of religious belief. He has even the courage to affirm that the evidence of Intuition is supposed to "remove all doubt" as to the Divine Existence; that it is "such a clear Revelation of God, as to assure us absolutely of his existence, and to free us from all harassing or disturbing questionings, or fears regarding it." (p. 12). Instead of indulging in vague rhetoric of this kind, it would have been more to the point if Mr Davidson had quoted the words of any rational Theist who has adopted this line of intuitional evidence, and has at the same time said what he affirms. He satirizes the position of the Intuitionist when he affirms that, according to him, God is "a dictum of consciousness;" which, he says, will be "generally denied, if not contemptuously set aside." It is, however, extremely difficult for any unprejudiced mind to see the difference between the position which is thus contumeliously dismissed, and Mr Davidson's own subsequent dogmatic affirmation—to the

defence of which many pages are devoted—that God is “a necessity of human nature,” “the object of a natural want,” and “his existence a rational certainty.”

Mr Davidson reaches his Theism by a process of reason, and he thinks that this is a much more philosophical procedure than that which is adopted by the poor misguided intuitionist; but, after all his ratiocination he only reaches—as Plato and Proclus have shewn us—a shadowy abstraction; while he simultaneously rejects the very evidence which is alone a guarantee of reality. He seems to think that if Intuition can guarantee the theistic inference, all the judgments of the “Mahomedan” or of the “Savage,” as to “Gods many and Lords many,” are of equal value, and that there is no arbiter to select between the consciousness of “the Gentile and the Jew” on these points. He thinks that mysticism of every kind is the doorway to Pantheism, not to Theism. But this is both a philosophical and a historical mistake, of the first magnitude. In proportion as Philosophy becomes mystical, Mr Davidson says it “acknowledges its own impotence.” It would be a quite valid rejoinder to say that, in proportion as it becomes empirical, it loses every characteristic of thoroughness and strength. Mr Davidson contends that “the object of devotion is assured to us just as the existence of a friend or a brother is assured to us, not by intuition, but by inference.” But, if God be merely an inference from phenomena, he will assuredly be a very different being from the God whom the reverent intuitionist recognises, as *known in his conscious life, and in the world beyond him*, and at the same time unknown and incomprehensible.

Mr Davidson denies that the “Divine Presence is discernible, save through its effects.” It would seem then that God is only a remote “inference” of the human reason; and yet, he speaks of Him as “the Loadstar” of “the pious man.” He says it may be known by the devout worshipper that “God dwells in him,” “works in him, and transforms him;” but this is only an *inference*. In his polemic against Intuition, he goes on to say—when trying to explain how it is that the evidence of the Divine Existence is not so direct as the evidence of sense—that it is only when our “attention” is turned to things that they are known, and quotes the saying that “the least seen is that which the eye constantly sees.” But how is he *ever* seen, if God be only an inference from phenomena? He adds that “God may be present with us, and his presence be indubitably realised, *if we conform to the conditions*” . . . “Let us open the soul’s eye to the heavenly prospect”—(and what is this but intuition)—and we will have ample evidence of the Divine Existence. Surely there is some intellectual confusion here. We are told that the supposed intuition of God is a piece of mystic folly,

for giving credence to which the rational theologian commiserates the weak-minded intuitionist. At the same time we are told that God, the Divine Being, stands to us in the relation of a living person; and the great sentence in the Beatitudes, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall *see* God," is actually quoted against intuition! What is that *sight* but the highest form of intuition?

In his second chapter, Mr Davidson gives what he calls "a hasty review of the various conceptions of Human Nature, as represented in the history of philosophic thought." It is an excellent chapter, condensed and learned; and although it is open to criticism here and there, it gives a luminous bird's-eye view of the progressive development of the higher reason of the race, in construing Human Nature. It is every way superior to his earlier chapter. Many readers will think it curious, however, that, after his attack on Intuition, the writer should maintain—in the most eclectic manner—that Theism is "grounded in all the three provinces of Human Nature, the intellect, emotion, and ethics."

Two lectures are devoted to a consideration of agnostic objections, in which there is much felicitous criticism. In dealing with Kant and Mansel (particularly with the latter), Mr Davidson is seen at his best. His handling of Mr Herbert Spencer and Mr Huxley is also extremely able. The chapter on "Personality" has many merits, as a *resumé* of the best recent philosophical thought upon the subject. Mr Davidson defines "Personality" in general, as "intelligence, feeling, and will, gathered up into a centre of conscious being" (p. 234); and the Divine Personality is "the perfection of these three, held together in entire harmony." Personality is "the highest fact in our experience"; and it is "only when gathered up in a person that the highest excellencies are intelligible to us." It does not follow that, in ascribing Personality to God, we make Him finite, or one out of many. Short extracts from this chapter may be given as specimens of Mr Davidson's discussion.

"Religion is wider than any one of the great historical religions of the world—much more, is it wider than any outward ecclesiastical embodiment of religion now existing or ever known to have existed. Hence, too, it follows that each of the great historical religions of the world has embodied and carried forward some portion or portions of Divine Truth. But hence, further, it follows that Natural Religion may be deeply indebted to Revealed Religion, even when not identifying itself with it. In so far, at any rate, as the truths of Revealed Religion are but purified and ennobled forms of the truths of Natural Religion, they commend themselves to the enlightened searcher (altogether apart from consideration of the authoritative source whence they issued), and must be taken as a spiritual advance. I do not lay the foundation of Theism in what is usually known as Revelation" (pp. 232-3).

"Personality, if the grounds of theism be psychological, is seen to attach to the Deity; for, it is only when gathered up in a person and manifested in personal act that the very highest excellencies—such as wisdom, love, mercy, righteousness—are intelligible to us, and it is only thus that they can affect us as really noble, or stimulate us to the imitation of these prime virtues in ourselves" (p. 239).

"We need not, then, find personality an insuperable barrier to our theistic structure. It may quite legitimately be ascribed to God, because it is not necessarily finite. It would only be necessarily finite, if the correct idea of it were that of an *Ego* as one reality, set over against a *Non-Ego* as another reality, each absolutely distinct and independent. But this is by no means the true conception of Personality, nor is it given by the logical doctrine of correlation" (p. 247).

A remark may be added, not to the author but to his publisher, viz., that it is a mistake to place recommendatory reviews of "Works by the same author," between the prefatory note to his new Book, and its table of contents. No author could possibly arrange this for himself; and it is surely a pity that his publisher should do it.

To the printer it may be said that capital letters are very irregularly arranged. Sometimes subordinate adjectives have capitals, and important substantives have none.

As to the literary form of the book, there are some sentences in it like cut-crystal in their clearness; while there are others of a very different kind. It should be a very easy task to rectify the latter. It has certain defects—and what book is free from them?—but, considered as a whole, both in its aim and its accomplishment, it is a noteworthy contribution to the philosophical and theological thought of our time. It reflects credit, alike on the Writer, on the Lectureship, and on the University of the North.

WILLIAM KNIGHT.

Notice sur quelques textes Latins inédits de l'ancien Testament.

Par M. Samuel Berger. Paris : Librairie Klincksieck, 4to, pp. 38.
Fr. 1.

WE were permitted to review M. Berger's "*Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers Siècles du moyen âge*" in the last number of the *Critical Review* (p. 57). The present work, which is reprinted from the "*Notices et extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres Bibliothèques*" presents us with some valuable fragments of the early Latin versions of the Old Testament.

The study which has been so earnestly directed of late years

towards the Latin versions has naturally concentrated itself upon the New Testament; the problem of the pre-Hieronymian text of the Old, still remains unanswered and almost unexplored. To this day the most complete collection of material on the subject is preserved in Sabatier's "*Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae*," which was published in 1743; and in the present century, with the exception of the Würzburg fragments published by E. Ranke, and the Lyons Pentateuch published by M. Ulysse Robert, not very much material has been added to the stock amassed by Sabatier and his fellow-workers. M. Berger gives a useful list of books on the subject on p. 7; we would like to add to it the following items: Cozza, Jos., "*Sacr. Bibl. vetust. fragmenta graeca et latina ex palimpsestis codicibus Bibliothecae Cryptoferratensis*," Rome, 1867 (containing fragments from the prophets); Ranke, E., "*Fragmenta versionis antehieronymianae e codice Manuscripto (Fuldensi)*," Vienna, 1868; Belsheim, J., "*Libros Tobiae, Iudit, Ester . . . ex codice olim Freisingensi nunc Monacensi*," Trondhjem, 1893; Thielmann, P., "*die lateinische Übersetzung d. Buches der Weisheit*" in Wölfflin's *Archiv*, vol. viii. (1892) p. 235 f.;¹ and since the publication of M. Berger's work, "*Die lat. Übers. d. Buches Sirach*" by the same author and in the same volume (1893) p. 501 f.

The Munich Academy, under the competent guidance of Prof. Wölfflin, has undertaken the task of preparing a revised and enlarged edition of Sabatier's great work for the Old Testament; and a welcome contribution to their material is made by M. Berger in the texts which he has here printed.

The first extract consists of the book of Ruth from the famous *Codex Complutensis*, a ninth century Bible presented by Cardinal Ximenes to the University of Alcalá(=Complutum), and now in the University Library at Madrid. The version is Old-Latin, and agrees closely with Ambrose's citations preserved in his commentary on St Luke; and we are thus fortunate in obtaining the whole book in a form previously known to us only by a few chance quotations; needless to say, it differs completely from Jerome's translation.

The second extract is the song of Hannah (1 Sam. ii. 3-10) from the margin of a 15th century Bohemian MS., now at Einsiedeln; late though the MS. is, this version is early, and agrees

¹ A convenient edition of the Book of Wisdom, the Greek text, the Vulgate, and the English, with introduction, commentary, &c., was published by the Rev. W. J. Deane, in 1881 (Oxford, Clarendon Press); the Latin version is African in origin, and is preserved in its original form, as Jerome did not re-translate it ("in eo libro qui a plerisque Sapientia Salomonis inscribitur . . . calamum temperavi, tantummodo canonicas Scripturas vobis emendare desiderans," preface to the books of Solomon).

with the text used by Lucifer of Cagliari. Then follow two extracts from early translations of the book of Job. Jerome, before attempting a complete retranslation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew, worked at an amended Latin translation from the Septuagint. Only two books of this early translation survive—the Psalter and the book of Job. The Psalter is well known; it is the *Psalterium Romanum*, still used in the service at St Peter's in Rome, in the Roman Missal, and in parts of the Breviary; but MSS. containing this first revision of Job *juxta LXX.* are rare, and the publication of part of the book from an 8th century MS. at St Gall is an important addition to the stock. Still more rare, however, are any relics of the *Old Latin* version of the same book, fragments of which M. Berger also publishes from the great 10th century Bible at Leon. The type of text here, as in the other fragments, is the revised old Latin, usually called the *Italian*; and the Greek text on which it rests, resembles that of the Codex Alexandrinus. Dr Weihrich¹ has noted the same fact in the Greek text underlying the Biblical quotations in the work “*de divinis Scripturis sive Speculum*,” wrongly ascribed to Augustine; this is all the more remarkable as the Greek text of the “*Speculum*” in the *New Testament* presents a revised *African* type of text. The remaining pages of M. Berger's work furnish us with parts of the books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs, from the St Gall MS. (No. 11) mentioned above; with the early *resumé* of the book of Esther, which did duty for the complete book in the Old Latin version; and with selections from the books of Maccabees, from the *Codex Complutensis*, and from a ninth century MS. (No. 356) at Lyons; the text here seems also to be of the same type, and to agree with the citations from Ambrose.

In all the extracts the orthography and punctuation of the MSS. is carefully reproduced; those who have had occasion to study M. Berger's excellent edition of the Fleury palimpsest of parts of the New Testament (Paris, 1889) will feel perfect confidence in his accuracy, and gratitude and pleasure at his clear concise descriptions of the several MSS. and their history.

H. J. WHITE.

¹ “*Die Biblexcerpte de divinis scripturis und die Itala des h. Augustinus*,” Wien, 1893, p. 70.

Collected Essays.

By T. H. Huxley. Vol. I. Methods and Results; Vol. II. Darwiniana; Vol. III. Science and Education; Vol. IV. Science and Hebrew Tradition; Vol. V. Science and Christian Tradition. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, 5s. each vol.

WITHIN the last fifty years a momentous change has taken place in the beliefs and opinions of a large section of the educated class both within and without the Christian Church. This change has been for the most part due to the application of the scientific method of enquiry to many subjects which had before that time been generally accepted without question as matters of faith. Now, however, nothing is too sacred or too time-honoured to be exempt from the application of the test of criticism, and in consequence many cherished beliefs have crumbled, and many widely-accepted opinions have been rudely shaken.

Among those who have been foremost in this work of destructive criticism, few have exercised a wider influence than Dr Huxley. A recognised authority in certain branches of science, he combines with the power of original research a rare degree of the ability to popularise his own discoveries and those of his fellow-workers. The master of a forcible literary style, which, though sometimes a little rough, is always clear and impressive, he is one of those whose writings can hardly fail to interest the most casual reader, and by whom even the most unsympathetic cannot avoid being influenced. He is essentially one of those to whom (in his own words) "the satisfaction of throwing down a triumphant fallacy is as great as that which attends the discovery of a new truth, who feel better satisfied with the government of the world when they have been helping Providence by knocking an imposture on the head, and who care even more for freedom of thought than for mere advance in knowledge."

The essays, which fill these volumes, are practical illustrations of this state of mind. Dr Huxley is without doubt one of the ablest controversialists of the age, and is throughout actuated by a genuinely honest desire to contend for what he considers to be the truth. He combines a fearlessness in the statement of his own conclusions with an impatience of opposition, and having been himself often subjected to unsympathetic treatment on the part of some of his opponents, he is quick to perceive the weak points in their arguments, and pitiless in his treatment of them.

Many of these essays have been long before the public, and some of them have the additional interest that they have borne fruit. It has been in a measure due to his influence that science-teach-

ing has become a reality in this country, that the education of medical students has been redeemed from the unsatisfactory state in which it formerly was, and that our English Universities have ceased to be, as they once were, chiefly known as "the resort of the pleasant, moneyed, well-bred young gentlemen who do a little learning and much boating by Cam and Isis," and have risen to a position in the world of thought in which they can stand comparison with any of their continental contemporaries in the value, if not in the amount, of their intellectual output.

In the sphere of practical educational reform, his writings have been equally influential in directing public opinion, and his essays on the duty of the State and on certain questions of administration are always lucid, and if less popular, are no less suggestive, than his more purely scientific writings.

The great work of Dr Huxley's life has been the popularisation of Darwin's work. It is not too much to say that Huxley has done more to promote the general acceptance of the evolution hypothesis than the great discoverer himself. It is also mainly due to him that the methods of the evolution philosophy have been understood, adopted, and applied in these last days to a far wider range of subjects than Darwin himself had contemplated. The "Lectures to Working Men," which are contained in the second volume, have probably never been surpassed as clear popular expositions of the theory of descent.

The fourth and fifth volumes of this series, which deal with the relations of modern scientific methods as interpreted by him to the dogmatic side of the teaching of the churches, are those which will naturally attract more attention than the other essays, whose matter is less decidedly controversial. These have already appeared in different magazines, and are consequently well known, but there is an advantage in reading them in this collected form, as thereby the reader can obtain a clearer view of his position.

The attitude of the Huxleyan agnostic has this advantage over that of most other sectarian philosophers, that while it is easily appreciated, it is difficult to define. He himself finds fault with his more constructive disciples for their attempts to formulate the articles of the agnostic creed. Herein consists the strength of his position, for a polemic whose purpose is essentially destructive offers fewer vulnerable points to the critic than one which is constructive. For while he professes to act on the apostolic maxim, "Prove all things," he first demands a certain kind of proof, and then rejects or passes by whatsoever cannot present the exact sort of proof which he requires.

The three subjects which Dr Huxley has especially selected for this form of criticism in these essays are the biblical narrative of

the creation, the account of the deluge, and the demonology of the New Testament. There is nothing essentially new in his treatment of the first of these topics. The articles bearing on it are principally those which he wrote in his controversies with the Duke of Argyll and Mr Gladstone. In these he appears to considerable advantage, as neither of his antagonists was thoroughly at home in discussing the scientific bearings of the subjects under consideration, and they consequently have suffered the fate which has befallen all reconcilers from Chalmers downwards, that of seeing the destruction of the foundation upon which they had based their *eirenikon*.

In the present position of our knowledge of nature no one can gainsay that evolution has been the method whereby the things that exist have been originated, and it is equally certain that the language of Genesis, interpreted literally, does not, without violence, lend itself to an evolutionary interpretation, and whatever of ethical value there is in the Scriptural narrative, it must be admitted that all attempts at verbal reconciliation of the book of nature and the first chapter of Genesis have only ended in disaster to the reconciler.

Dr Huxley criticises sharply the compilers of certain "Helps to Bible Students," on the ground that they have ignored certain well established results of recent scientific criticism. There is undoubtedly a very serious reality in this charge. It can only be a cause of evil and confusion if our teachers continue to enforce certain traditional views which are directly contradicted by the evidence of modern science, and scepticism is sure to follow as the Nemesis of false beliefs.

Dr Huxley's criticism of the biblical narrative of the deluge is of an equally trenchant character. He regards with greater respect the Chaldean legend of Khasisathra than the story of Noah, and, entrenching himself behind the terms in the Genesis narrative which attribute universality to the flood, and taking along with this the chronology of Ussher, he argues that if it can be proved that there was no universal deluge four thousand years ago, the whole story is therefore to be rejected.

That the biblical narratives of the Flood, like those of the Creation, are stories of the same events as those which are found in the legends of the Izdubar cycle, can hardly be doubted, but this is no argument against the reality of certain original incidents of which these are traditional accounts, which date back to the early days of humanity. There are many considerations which render it extremely improbable that the Hebrew version was taken from the Akkadian, or that the latter was taken from the former. They are apparently independent children of an older common tradition, but the Hebrew author, in his feeling after God, has raised the story to a higher level; and invested it with a distinct ethical purpose.

The special position of the Christian tradition with which science

is said to conflict is its demonology. When subjected to analysis the contention resolves itself into the statement that the doctrine of the existence of a world of spirits is not demonstrably impossible, though our author regards it as highly improbable. It is to him essentially a question of evidence. This leads him to the consideration of the writings of the New Testament, with regard to which he adopts the conclusions of the most destructive of the modern schools of higher criticism. As the authorities upon whom he leans cannot aid him in shaking the historical value of the Epistles of St Paul, he is obliged to change his method of attack, and so he resorts to a species of analogy. This, when reduced to logical form, may be expressed in the following way :—St Paul records certain spiritual and miraculous phenomena as occurring in the early Church. But Eginhard records phenomena somewhat comparable as having occurred in the days of Charlemagne. We reject the testimony of Eginhard. Therefore we must reject that of St Paul.

In these portions of the essays there is nothing new, as his arguments are taken from the ordinary German sources. In the course of the polemic he assumes as definitely proved many critical positions which are exceeding doubtful. This was wholly unnecessary, for as he can fall back on the antecedent improbability of a spiritual world, he is prepared at once to reject as unworthy of belief any testimony of the only kind which can possibly be adduced in favour of spiritual phenomena.

The Sadducean doctrine which pervades these essays being especially concerned with the history of the processes of evolution as they affect physical nature, practically ignores the equally real phenomena of psychology. The system of philosophy set forth herein is founded on such a definition of the order of nature as effectually prevents our taking account of those classes of phenomena which are of a kind that they cannot be weighed, or measured, or tested by the chemist, such phenomena as consciousness, thought and volition. These cannot be interpreted in terms of matter or energy and therefore lie outside the realms of physical evolution. But as Dr Huxley cannot accept anything which is not to be accounted for as the product of evolution, any narratives which profess to deal with phenomena of the spiritual world are therefore to be rejected. Hence the impatience with which he again and again returns to his attack upon the Gadarene swine.

But when one reviews the history of humanity as drawn by the evolutionist and compares the *protiston* at one end of the series with the philosopher at the other, the fact cannot be ignored that there has at some stage entered into the being of the individual a spirit as real as that which in the story took possession of the swine. The mysterious process by which the speck of protoplasm

which at one time was all that existed of what is afterwards to be the philosopher, becomes endowed with the spirit which has driven him upwards through the many steep places of thought into the highest flights of imagination and fancy, is a far darker problem than that contained in the story of the momentary panic whereby the swine of Gadara precipitated themselves into the Lake of Galilee..

It has always been a fundamental belief in the universal consciousness of humanity that there is a world of spirits. Professor Huxley has by an application of the method of palæontological reasoning given us a graphic study of the development of this belief, which no doubt is sufficiently in accordance with truth in most of its details, but the palæontological method is not ætiological. That man in his primitive condition gained his first concept of a spirit world from the phenomena of his own consciousness, and that these, as man became more highly educated, became purified and elevated, so that thereby he has learned much concerning God and his own soul, is one thing; but that there are no objective realities corresponding to these discoveries is a separate proposition, and one which this line of argument does not touch.

To the Christian the order of the Universe is the clearest proof of the wisdom and power of the great First Cause whom he adores, and the discovery of this has been one of the greatest achievements of the human intellect. Humanity has been from its first days feeling after God, and as men advanced in power of thought they have discovered as much of His ways as their finite minds could, from time to time, understand. From the Christian standpoint it becomes intelligible how God can help and has helped His people to the understanding of Himself by influencing the spirits of those who are anxious and willing to learn. But as these considerations belong to another sphere, it is impossible to make these spiritual phenomena matters of physical demonstration, and it is here that the parting comes between those who believe in their existence and those who will believe in nothing which cannot be made the subject of such demonstration. The proposition is as old as the Apostle Paul, that "the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him; and he cannot know them, for they are spiritually judged."

The evolution philosophy can help us to understand the order of the development of the phenomena of the physical history of the world, but the facts of the spiritual history of human life and those ethical and spiritual doctrines which have been recognised by the prophets of all nations and systems of belief are equally real, and these have found their highest and clearest exposition in the teachings of our Lord. And this side of the history of humanity cannot

be left out of account by any philosophical system which professes to give an adequate explanation of the sum total of the phenomena of the universe.

A. MACALISTER.

Logik.

Von Benno Erdmann. Erster Band: Logische Elementarlehre. Halle: Niemeyer, 1893. Pp. xv. 632. M. 10.

Logik.

Von Christoph Sigwart. Zweiter Band: Die Methodenlehre. Zweite Auflage. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1893. Pp. viii. 778.

THESE two works, the first dealing with the general questions of Formal or Deductive logic, the second presenting an elaborate review of the methods of scientific investigation, and corresponding, therefore, to what is ordinarily known to us as Inductive logic, exhibit in a striking fashion the main characteristics of much of the recent German activity in logical science. The prevailing tendency in that sphere of philosophy is towards the more practical and psychological treatment which has for long distinguished the writings of English logicians. It is a natural incident of this tendency that the contributions of English writers to logic should play a much larger part than they did a generation ago in determining the line of research followed by their German contemporaries. Mill and Jevons present themselves even more frequently in the discussions of logical problems than Kant and Hegel.

What has happened in logic is, indeed, but a special case of the more general movement in German philosophical work, a movement away from the abstract problems of metaphysics and all *a priori* methods towards the concrete facts of nature and mind, and the application to them of the principles and processes that have approved themselves in the field of natural science. It is possible and legitimate for an onlooker to doubt whether the revolt is altogether judicious and well-founded, and to think that perchance, in the long run, the old and well-worn philosophical questions will be found to reappear and revenge themselves for their temporary neglect. But each generation has to work out its philosophical salvation in its own way, and at present our German friends seem disposed to begin their proceedings with a strenuous insistence on empirical fact that is startling even to the British thinker.

Of the two works before us, that of Prof. Erdmann has the

greater general interest. It is pre-eminently a discussion of fundamental points, and though there is presented in it, as resulting from the discussion, a tolerably systematic account of the logical elements, the Notion, Judgment and Syllogism, the chief value of the work will be found in the contribution it makes to the analysis of thought in general, or, as the author prefers to put it, of the act of judging. The precise nature and significance of the judgment, that act of thought which underlies all assertion of objective fact, is most rightly singled out by the author as the logical problem, and to it his work is mainly devoted. Unfortunately, clear insight into his view and concise statement of it are hindered rather than aided by the amplitude of detail with which it is worked out. The main idea, that the logical judgment is a complex fact of mind resting on a combination of more elementary processes, naturally leads the author into a prolonged treatment of these simpler facts, raising so many side issues as to obscure the thread of his argument. Quite one half of the volume is occupied by the analysis of the components of the judgment and the careful, often luminous, and instructive discussion of its general features, psychological, grammatical and logical.

The advance towards the central idea of the completed judgment is made in a way tolerably familiar to readers of recent German psychology. The elementary processes of presentation, apperception, and abstraction are regarded as yielding the articulated content on or in which judgment becomes possible, the picture of a world of things with qualities, events, and relations. What judgment effects in regard to the details of this articulated content is to represent its parts in a new though corresponding form of connexion, and this new representation, the essence of which is found in the correlation of subject and predicate, is itself mainly dependent on that important addition to immediate apprehension which is yielded by language. The predicative relation which is expressed in every judgment can be expressed only by the help of those verbal signs which seem at first sight to be only the external, accidental clothing of the judgment.

The predicative relation itself rests on the more immediately apprehended relation of thing and quality, a relation that is *extended* by thought beyond the sphere within which it is primarily applicable. The total content of the judgment remains always the complex whole that is directly apprehended, and what is peculiar to the judgment consists in the new form in which this whole is expressed. Given, *e.g.*, a whole that is distinguishable into ABCD, of which, again, in the more immediate processes of apprehending, D has been distinguished as a quality, the logical act of judgment consists in the predicative expression of D, now made more general

by the word, as identical in its more general acceptation with the D that forms part of the total complex ABCD. The judgment thus places the content of a general term in the content of the subject on ground of the recognised identity (the author uses the terms *Gleich* and *Gleichheit* without distracting ambiguity) between what is represented and what is presented. There accompanies every valid judgment the consciousness of the necessity for thought of such identification between what is verbally separated off in the predicate and what is apprehended as part of the total subject. From this it follows that the determining element in the judgment is always the subject, which is, in fact, the total content that is present in thought in order that the judgment may be made. The relation between the subject and predicate, the true copula, can only find expression in terms of both ; the copula is, in other words, the general or abstract expression of the particular way in which one part of the whole is viewed as "logically immanent" in the whole. In the assertion, *e.g.*, "the dead ride quickly," the true copula is "the quick-riding of the dead."

The general analysis of judgment is supplemented by a classification of judgments according to two principles, first, into real and ideal, according as the subject is taken to be actually presented or to have existence only as represented ; and second, into extensional and intensional, according as the subject is viewed in the light of a class embracing sub-classes and individuals, or in that of a combination of distinct characters. Within the lines of this classification, and with much acute and pertinent criticism of other views, the author seeks to bring the rich variety of forms of assertion. Like Sigwart and other recent writers he regards the negative judgment as secondary in nature, and he defends stoutly the view of hypothetical judgment as the assertion of the specific relation of logical sequence or dependence between two categorical assertions. He insists rightly, as we think, that the question as to the assumption or non-assumption of real existence of the subject does not assume or decide the problem as to the relation between categorical and hypothetical judgment.

The exposition of syllogism contains relatively less of novelty than the discussion of judgment. Syllogism, in fact, is rather definitely viewed as but mediate judgment. So regarded, the main forms are either hypothetical, where the judgments are given as in a relation of necessary consequence, or categorical where the given judgments contain elements which render necessary the relation expressed in the conclusion. Induction is but touched upon, and so far as its form is concerned, it seems to be regarded as essentially the transition from some to all, an interpretation which stands in need of such defence as it may receive in the projected second volume, on scientific

method. It must be added that Professor Erdmann excels in happy exemplification of the formal doctrines of logic. His examples of proposition and syllogism are selected with the greatest care, and are often of considerable independent interest.

The second edition of Sigwart's detailed treatment of the fundamental principles and methods of scientific investigation differs from the first in but one main feature. The author has added two sections containing an elaborate statement of the ideas and methods of psychology (pp. 179-210, pp. 518-573). In both, important psychological questions are raised and discussed; in one case, at least, not with the fulness of detail required to do justice to them. The first of the sections contains a general account of the elements with which psychology as a science has to deal, and there in particular two questions come forward, on which, at the present time, the most diverse views obtain among psychologists. On the ground of a distinction to be drawn, as the author thinks, between *that of which we are conscious*, and the *degree or measure of our consciousness*, the legitimacy of the assumption of unconscious mental facts is maintained. The unity of mind is taken to signify the presence of its inner nature as an active and controlling force in contrast with the isolated sensations, feelings, and the like which serve as occasions for calling forth its development. Both views are dubious and debateable, but to come to a definite understanding in regard to them demands more thorough analysis than Sigwart gives to them.

In the second additional section, on the induction of laws of mind, the main feature is the strenuous and able defence offered of the popular conception of a causal inter-action between body and mind. Sigwart subjects to close and acute criticism the arguments that have been advanced against this, mainly, in recent times, from the consequences supposed to be involved in the law of the conservation of energy, and his criticisms seem to us for the most part sound and successful. Whether the notion of causal inter-action is appropriate to express the relation of bodily and psychical processes is another and more doubtful point. For it is hardly possible to apply that notion, unless the meaning it ordinarily bears be radically wrong, and not thereby to confer upon the elements related by it a quasi-independence to which they are in no way entitled. Perhaps here, as elsewhere in philosophy, much of the perplexity we find is arbitrarily caused. We give to body and mind a fictitious existence as complete facts, whereas they are more properly abstractions from the truly complete whole. But undoubtedly, on the other hand, nothing but confusion of thought can lead us to rest content either with a merely verbal identification of them, or with the notion that, as complete and independent, they simply go on in a mysterious, mystical parallelism with one another.

R. ADAMSON.

The Conversion of India from Pantænus to the Present Time—A.D. 193-1893.

By George Smith, C.I.E., LL.D. With Illustrations. London : John Murray. 8vo, pp. 258. Price, 9s.

MISSION literature is becoming a marked feature of our age, and is developing a variety of branches. Fifty years ago it consisted mainly of pleas for missions and narratives of the work of single missions or of individual missionaries. The experiences of modern Christian missions were then too limited and isolated to be summed up and analysed. Such strides has this beneficent enterprise now taken, and such varied experiences have accumulated, that we can in some measure take stock of different aspects and results of the great work. Some years ago Dr Warneck wrote his thoughtful and interesting volume on the mutual relations of Modern Missions and Culture, bringing out vividly how the Christian mission not only changes the spiritual condition of the converts, and thereby their moral conduct, but, in the wider spheres of the community and of social and intellectual habits, "turns the world upside down" in a most beneficial sense. Christianity "inspires," as De Quincey puts it, a new economy of life, "indirectly through a new atmosphere surrounding all objects with new attributes."

In Bishop Caldwell's too little known "Early History of the Tinnevely Mission," giving the story of the development of a native Indian Christian community during the seventy years from Schwartz's time till the author's arrival in 1841, we find a narrative as suggestive as it is interesting to all concerned in the progress of Christianity. And in the volume under notice, by the Secretary to the Free Church Foreign Missions, we have a fresh presentation of evangelistic work in heathen lands, treated with much information that must be fresh to nearly all readers, and from a new point of view. Hough's history of Christianity in India covers, of course, the chronicle of the period in fuller detail, at least down to the publication of his fifth and last volume in 1860. Dr Smith, except in one short chapter, does not concern himself largely with statistics or the narrative of successes in individual missions, though these are not overlooked; his aim is rather to bring to light the *influences* at work—often outside mission agencies—that have been the preparation, and have moulded the progress of the cause in India as a whole. This is an important aspect of mission history that demands thoughtful study by those who would possess a clear understanding of the nature and elements of evangelistic progress in the East. In bringing forward this view,

however generally, the author has done an important service to the student of modern history, as well as to everyone interested in the effective carrying out of what Wellington justly called the Christian's Marching Orders (Matt. xxviii. 19).

The origin of the book is described in this way :—In 1888 Mr Nathan F. Graves founded a lectureship on Missions in connection with the Theological Seminary of the Reformed (Dutch) Church at New Brunswick, N.J. Dr Smith was selected to give the fifth course of these Graves Lectures, and chose as his subject "The Conversion of India," and this volume, he tells us, "contains a somewhat fuller treatment of that question, historically and practically, than was possible in the six lectures which he was appointed to deliver in the first fortnight of October 1893."¹

The period chosen, of precisely seventeen centuries, is far too extensive to permit of detail in the earlier portion; in fact the first thirty pages bring the story down to the thirteenth century. The tradition of St Thomas is, of course, passed over; for if there is any basis for the Syrian statement connecting that apostle with King Gondophares, he may have preached in Arakhosia (India Alba), without ever having reached Malabar or entered India—as we understand the term. Pantænus, the master of the catechetical school of Alexandria, Jerome tells us, was sent as a missionary to "India" about the end of the second century, and returned with a copy of Matthew's Gospel in Hebrew; but beyond this we know nothing of his mission, its sphere or its fruits. Jews had settled on the Malabar coast at an early date; but the tradition Dr Smith recites of their having come to India immediately after the destruction of the Temple (A.D. 70), must be altogether discredited. Their copper-plate deed is of uncertain date; they say themselves that it was granted in 379 A.D., but palæographical considerations render it probable that it belongs to a later date by at least three centuries. Nor is he quite correct in saying that Dr Claudius Buchanan deposited these Jewish plates in the University Library of Cambridge; Buchanan tried hard to obtain them, but had to be content with a copy, and the originals are still with the Jewish elders at Cochin. The Syrian Christians on the same coast were also there from an early date—they say from the time of St Thomas,—though the next, and perhaps first missionaries arrived, they believe, in 345 A.D. There, as well as in Ceylon, about 540 A.D., Cosmas Indicopleustes found them with a bishop at Kalyana—probably the small port of that name thirty-six miles north of Mangalur. They also obtained charters or deeds from native princes, engraved on copper, and the earliest of these seems to belong to the latter

¹ Perhaps we should read "September" here, for the Preface is dated from Edinburgh, "13th October 1893."

half of the eighth century. Their ancient crosses with inscriptions, found in Southern India, naturally suggest a reference to the great Chinese inscription of the Nestorians at Si-ngan-fu, dating from 638 A.D. That remarkable monument has long been known to Orientalists, but we are indebted to Dr Smith for presenting the general reader with a concise popular account of it, illustrated by a facsimile, and in an appendix he adds a curious extract from Samedo's account of the finding of the tablet in 1625.

While the author's style is easy and the movement rapid, one comes on sentences here and there that indicate hurried composition, and which it is to be hoped an early second edition may enable him to recast. They are not, however, of such a nature as to interfere with the purpose and real merits of Dr Smith's book. An instance may be cited from the second head, dealing with the Romish attempt in the thirteenth century to proselytise the East:—At page 33 we read—"The Mongolian dynasty which he (Chinghiz Khan) founded, continued his conquests right into the heart of Europe, under Batu at Cracow and Breslau, Pesth, and Lignitz, defeating the chivalry of Christendom led by Prince Henry of Silesia on the 12th April 1241." Thus, to compress a chapter into a single sentence is hurtful to both the history and the composition; for Batu did *not* lead the expedition into Poland and Silesia, but a son of Chagatai; and the battle near Lignitz, where Henry II., with 30,000 Poles and Germans, including the Teutonic knights, was defeated, was fought on the 9th April. But the great and decisive victory of the Mongols was won by the main army under Batu, on the banks of the Sajo, about the same date, when Bela IV. of Hungary, at the head of a great array of about 400,000 men, was totally defeated and most of his troops massacred. It was this terrible defeat that laid Central Europe at the mercy of the Golden Horde,—but they withdrew on learning of the death of Ogotai. The Romish Church, knowing of the influence of the Nestorian missionaries in Central Asia, then roused herself to send forth her preaching friars to try and convert the restless and savage warriors of the Asiatic steppes. After rapidly glancing at this attempt, Xavier's work is treated succinctly, and followed by a brief review of the later Jesuit efforts—confessedly failures.

It is when he comes to the English influence that the author enters fully upon his real subject. He sketches, rapidly enough, the early features of that influence; but when Charles Grant, the brothers Chambers and their friends, appear on the scene, his interest deepens, and, with abundant knowledge, he brings out the interaction of Christian officers, governors, chaplains, and missionaries in India, and East India Company Directors, Statesmen in

Parliament, and private Christians at home, all working out from different points of view a divine purpose. This section of the work is deserving of special attention. The chapter on "The United States of America's Co-operation" gives a rapid sketch of the evangelistic work of America from 1630, and will enable people in this country to estimate rightly the extent and value of the noble efforts our brethren in the West are now making in many provinces in India.

"The methods of the Evangelical Mission" contains important testimonies from many quarters to its success; and the "Results" are represented of course by statistics that are by no means "dry":—this chapter is an excellent *resumé* of facts of the highest import. Here we learn that the native Evangelical Christians in South India alone increased over sixfold between 1851 and 1890, or 614 per cent., while among these the communicants multiplied $12\frac{1}{2}$ times in the same period. This means that the increasing efforts of the churches during the last forty years have been rewarded by the steady doubling of native Protestant Christians periodically every fifteen years or less, or at the rate of fully a hundredfold in a century. If this rate of increase continue, their numbers will rise to a million of souls by the year 1903. Nor is South India an exceptional area, though its mission history goes farthest back; in the Punjab the census of 1881 gave 2,455 native Christians; in 1891 they had increased to 17,944, or fully sevenfold in ten years. Why are we so slack in multiplying labourers to gather in such abundant harvests? Well does Dr Smith put on his title-page the motto *δενίθητε*—the first word of Matt. ix. 38.

The "Prospects of the Conversion of India" are, lastly, set forth with encouraging and weighty testimonies; but space forbids remark on this or the last chapter, consisting of a collection of prayers for missions and mission fields, &c. The volume can be heartily commended as full of interest and deserving the careful attention of the Christian public.

JAMES BURGESS.

The Christian Ethic.

By William Knight, LL.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of St Andrews. London: John Murray. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. and 178. Price 3s. 6d.

SOME treatment of Christian ethics has long been expected from Professor Knight, and it may be a disappointment to find that he has not proposed to himself so exhaustive an examination of the entire field as has been undertaken by Dorner, Martensen, or New-

man Smyth. "This little book," he tells us, "is issued as a partial answer to the question, What are the distinctive features of the Christian ethic, as distinguished from the other moral systems of the world." And even this limited aim is attained, not by an elaborate comparison of the Christian with other ethical systems in all their aspects, but merely by an indication of the distinctive peculiarities of the contents and sources of the Christian morality, with occasional illustrative reference to the Platonic or Aristotelian teaching. For this limitation we can be thankful. Surely we have nowadays and in the meantime a sufficiency of treatises of the more elaborate kind; and we are grateful for this brief statement in which the salient points are not lost sight of amidst a mass of detail.

Professor Knight, although he does not consider the Christian ethic to be an entirely new product, holds that Christianity has produced a new type of character and of conduct. He is very successful in exhibiting the elements of newness which are found in Christian morals, the uniting of principles elsewhere antagonistic, and the raising to a central and dominating place of qualities which in other systems were rudimentary or obscure or depreciated. The distinctive features of the Christian ethic he traces to two sources, the doctrines or truths which Christianity first proclaimed, and the peculiar virtues which were for the first time exhibited in harmony as well as in their individual strength in Christianity. The special teachings which he believes to lie at the root of Christian morality are, the doctrines of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of men, the idea of immortality, the teaching regarding the nature of evil, the quickened sense of duty and the peculiarly Christian doctrine of human Recovery or Reformation by the unification of the Divine and the human natures. Each of these is dealt with separately, and although briefly, yet with much suggestiveness. Certainly greater fulness in the treatment of immortality was desirable, as Professor Knight has not allowed himself room even to show *how* the belief in immortality tells upon conduct.

In the second half of the volume those virtues which are more distinctively a reflection of the character of the Founder of Christianity are enumerated and discussed. These are self-sufficiency and humility [on p. 74 *αὐτάρκεια* is awkwardly misprinted for *ταπεινοφροσύνη*] devotion to others, philanthropy and Christian socialism, forgiveness of injuries, patience under wrong. Some pages at the end are devoted to a discussion of the relation of Christianity to wealth, and among other aspects of this subject, the ethics of betting are considered. Professor Knight treats this superficially, and apparently believes that its condemnation lies mainly in the circumstance that it is a trivial and idle occupation. He will not affirm that gambling and betting are disallowed by the

Christian ethic, although he admits they are discouraged by it, "mainly on the ground of their triviality or irrationality." Considering the disastrous extent to which these vices prevail at present, we should have expected some firmer and more trenchant analysis from a Christian moralist. Is it not a Christian principle that if a man will not work, neither shall he eat? Is a man justified in craving to be maintained by a community to whose welfare he contributes nothing? Are parasites to be encouraged by Christianity? Is a Christian justified in hasting to be rich? In this connection Professor Knight might with advantage have added a chapter on those amusements and business customs which, although not explicitly prohibited, are incongruous and incompatible with the spirit and example of Christ—fancy Christ betting—and undermine honourable relations between man and man.

In common with all Professor Knight's work this volume is exceptionally well written. It gives a clear and succinct statement of the peculiarities of Christian morality. It contains much that suggests thought and nothing that is crude. It is not hampered with technical phraseology, and both the professional and the lay reader will find it pleasant as well as profitable reading.

MARCUS DODS.

The Earliest Life of Christ ever compiled from the Four Gospels, being the Diatessaron of Tatian. With Historical Introduction, Notes, and Appendix.

*By the Rev. J. Hamlyn Hill, B.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
8vo, pp. 379. Price 10s. 6d.*

So much has already been written by Professor Hemphill, Dr Maher, and others regarding the Diatessaron, that space need not be occupied with any account of Ciasca's publication of the Arabic version of the original Syriac some five years ago. With the Arabic a Latin rendering was given. It is this Latin version which Mr Hill has now translated into English, securing accuracy by availing himself of the aid of Arabic scholars, especially of Mr Buchanan Gray of Mansfield College. It will be remembered that Professor Hemphill only gave us an English rendering of the parts of the Diatessaron which could be recovered from the commentary of Ephraem Syrus¹; so that Mr Hill has the satisfaction of giving to the public the first English version of the Diatessaron itself. This is a valuable addition to accessible Ante-Nicene literature,

¹ These Fragments are translated in Mr Hill's appendix.

and Mr Hill deserves cordial acknowledgment for the painstaking industry and scholarship he has spent upon this formidable task.

Besides the Diatessaron itself, we have in this volume an introduction giving a history of Tatian and his best known work, an explanation of the method followed in the harmony and of some of its characteristic features, and an estimate of its value. Still more valuable are the tables given in the Appendix. Among these, the first is both interesting and useful, furnishing us, as it does, with the means of comparing Tatian's order with that adopted by the three eminent harmonists, Greswell, Stroud, and Tischendorf. Another table enables us to see at a glance what portions of each gospel are incorporated in the Diatessaron, and what are omitted. The other tables are also carefully drawn up, and will save trouble to future workers.

The value of the Diatessaron lies mainly in the light it casts on the history of the Gospels and their reception in the Church. As a means of ascertaining the relative dates of the Curetonian and Peshitto Syriac, and of gaining through the Syriac a knowledge of the Greek Text of the New Testament, it is likely to yield important results. Its intrinsic value as a Harmony is of course discounted by the labours of modern critics. Believing the first and fourth Gospels to be from the hand of Apostles, Tatian attaches great weight to the order they adopt. Sometimes, as in the case of the cleansing of the Temple, these authorities conflict; and in this particular case Tatian follows Matthew, with the somewhat awkward consequence that not only the cleansing of the Temple, but the conversation with Nicodemus as well, is lifted to the close of the ministry. But that Tatian spent immense care on his Harmony is manifest, and that he did not succeed where no one else has succeeded cannot be matter of astonishment.

MARCUS DODS.

The Great Reconciliation and the Reign of Grace.

By Edward Seeley, Vicar of The Martyrs, Leicester.
London: E. Stock. Pp. 306.

THE object of this book is to throw light on some of the difficulties of the scheme of grace, or, as the author calls it—"the great reconciliation." He accepts very cordially in its main features the evangelical view of the way of life, but he thinks that in some points that view is defective, and his object is to supply some things that seem to be lacking, and thus make the great enterprise assume grander proportions, and appear more worthy of the Infinite God.

The chief defect in current representations of the atonement of Jesus Christ he holds to be, that it is viewed too exclusively in its relation to man, and that its object is too much narrowed to the removal of man's sin. He draws attention to passages, such as Ephes. i., where a much wider scope is attributed to the divine purpose in Christ, God having designed "that in the dispensation of the fulness of times he might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are in earth." This of course does not imply universal restoration, but it implies that Christ is to be the Head of a Kingdom in which all holy beings in heaven and earth will be brought into one. Small and insignificant though this world is, it is suitable to be the scene of that great work whereby Christ has not only redeemed men but laid the foundation of a universal, holy Empire.

With reference to God the Father, the work of Christ was designed to show the exceeding riches of his grace, as it could not have been shown in dealings with angels or any unfallen community. With reference to Jesus the Son, it was fitted to exalt his love and grace to a new pinnacle of glory. And with reference to man, to place him in a higher relation to God than Adam's—a relation of more vital fellowship, for "God in man" and "man in God" were now to be the terms of the relation. Redeemed man is a more exalted being than unfallen man; his relation to a divine Redeemer places him under motives and brings out qualities of a higher order. And the inheritance awaiting him will be higher, the faithful servant will be ruler over "cities"—an expression which we cannot define, but which denotes something very high. Owing to the comprehensiveness of God's scheme, it is liable to be misjudged when we view a portion of it apart from the rest. An entire plan may be just, while parts of it appear unjust. Mr Seeley thinks that from this point of view the divine procedure in permitting the fall of man receives material vindication.

The subject is worked out with great care and reverence, with a profound regard to the teaching of Scripture, beyond which he is careful not to go. But as the wider bearings of the work of Christ are not formally treated in Scripture, it is rather hints and glimpses than definite conclusions that are presented to us. The style is simple, exact, and utterly unadorned, and it must be confessed that but for the grandeur of the subject, the book would be tedious. But it is better on such a subject to be somewhat dry, than by giving too free scope to imagination, to gain beauty at the cost of precision of thought and exactness of statement.

W. GARDEN BLAIKIE.

Sin and Redemption : or the Spirit and Principle of the Cross of Christ.

By John Garnier. London : E. Stock, 1893. Pp. 508.

THE purpose of this work is similar to that of the preceding—to remove, or at least lessen difficulties in connection with theism and the Christian redemption which in many cases destroy belief, and even in the case of believers, impair confidence in God. It is like the other in its tone, its devout reverence for Scripture and cordial acceptance of the method of grace ; but not in its line of discussion, nor in the view it takes of the redemption of Christ. The origin of evil is first discussed, and here we cannot think that the author has put his best foot foremost. On the sufferings of the inferior creation he does throw some light, by noting that as they are incapable of recognising the law of love, selfishness (as a rule) must be their principle of action, and, therefore, it is natural for them to disregard the comfort or even the life of their rivals. In regard to human beings, he somehow thinks that he has proved that it was a moral impossibility for God to create perfectly righteous beings, and he infers that experience of moral evil was necessary to enable man to reach the heights of excellence to which he is raised by redemption. What he *has* proved is, that created moral beings must be *liable* to sin and consequent suffering, but his contention that they must actually sin and suffer is contradicted by the condition of the unfallen angels, whose range of spiritual experience and enjoyment, however, Mr Garnier's principles would oblige him to place very low.

On the whole, the book presents a considerable number of helpful views in the prosecution of its great aim, which is to clear God of being the author of sin, to bring it home to man himself, and yet not lessen its guilt. We like, for example, the way in which, all through, he emphatically regards separation from God as the essential evil caused by sin, and the restoration of that fellowship as the chief fruit of grace. We agree in his view that the essence of future punishment will lie in everlasting separation from God, in the darkness and desolation of soul which this must bring, and in the hopeless confinement to which the sinner must be subjected in order to prevent his sin from spreading, and thus infecting other parts of God's dominion. And we are one with him in holding that the essence of redemption lies in restored fellowship with God through Jesus Christ, and in the experience of the surpassing excellence of the divine Being, as realised by union to the Saviour and participation in His redemption. The chief divergence of the author's views from our prevalent theology lies in his repudiation of Christ's

death as *expiation*. But when we add that he accepts it as *propitiation*, it will be seen that he is prone to subtle distinctions. While he goes so far as to maintain with reference to Christ's suffering for sin that it was precisely the same in kind as the sinner himself experiences, he seems to look on his death mainly as a testimony for righteousness, and on the acceptance of believers by God as the consequence of their union to Christ, in consequence of which God regards them as he regards Christ. This view, so far as it rejects expiation, is neither in accordance with the teaching of Scripture, nor with that craving of the human conscience for a substitutionary propitiation to which the practice of expiatory sacrifices bears witness in the heathen world. We fall back on the simple testimony of Scripture :—"Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that He might bring us to God."

In an Appendix, there is a brief but effective discussion of some of the more recent anti-Theistic and other positions—Agnosticism, Design, Prayer and Miracles, and Progressive Revelation.

W. GARDEN BLAIKIE.

The Truth of the Christian Religion.

By Julius Kaftan, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin. Translated from the German by George Ferries, B.D. With a Prefatory Note by Robert Flint, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh. In two volumes. Pp. x. 357, and pp. vi. 445. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh. Price 16s. nett.

ENGLISH readers have now the opportunity of making themselves acquainted with the teaching of the Ritschlian school, as it is set forth by one of its foremost representatives. Dr Kaftan is a man of great ability, an able thinker, a lucid and vigorous writer, and if we are not persuaded by him of the truth of the Ritschlian teaching, it is from no lack of ability on his part. The translation is also worthy ; it is clear, accurate, and adequate, and fitly represents the original. We are glad to have Dr Kaftan's work in English. It is well on every account that we should have the teaching of the Ritschlian school accessible in English. It has an extensive influence in Germany, as every reader of German theology well knows. In France, in America, and in our own country, the influence of Ritschl is felt. References to him abound in theological literature, treatises are written in attack and in defence, and every philosopher and theologian feels that sooner or later he will have to reckon with Ritschlianism. The adherents of this system number among them some of the foremost names in German theology. Harnack, Herr-

mann, Schultz, Wendt, and Kaftan, each in his own department, is working under the influence of Ritschl, and the principles and methods of Ritschl have penetrated into every sphere of theological science. These appear in the history of dogma, in the theology of the Old and New Testament, in exegesis, in church history, in philosophy, and in dogmatics. It is well that men should calmly consider and weigh the claims of this school.

Dr Kaftan may be called the philosopher of this school, as Harnack is its historian. We are not sure that the other adherents of the school would agree to the name by which we have called him. For the followers of Ritschl are by no means agreed as to the philosophy they teach. Dr Kaftan himself is a pure empiricist of the type of J. S. Mill, while Herrmann is a Kantian, and Bender of Bonn is inclined to pure subjectivity. But each one of the school is left free to choose his own philosophy. As Professor Orr has said in his able, thoughtful, and clear account of "the Ritschlian theology" in the *Thinker* (August 1892), "It is a matter of indifference to theologians—so maintains Herrmann in his work on *Metaphysic and Theology*—whether philosophy be deistic, pantheistic, or whatever it is." Many things might be said on this, but we must hasten on to the work more immediately in hand.

Dr Kaftan's work is in two volumes. The first is mainly occupied with the history and the criticism of Dogma, the second with the statement and defence of his system of philosophy and his view of knowledge. In the first volume we have Dr Kaftan's view of the origin of dogma, its development, and continuance, until it was overthrown by Kant and dissolved under the influence of modern science and philosophy. Having thus traced the origin, history, and dissolution of dogma, he finally pronounces a sort of funeral oration over it, sums up its merits and demerits—mainly its demerits—and calls this oration "the judgment of history." The work from first to last is skilfully done. With ample knowledge of dogma and its history, he passes on from period to period, and shows how, in his view, theologians have got on the wrong track, have missed their way, and have built up an edifice of theology which must be taken down and altogether reconstructed on new lines. We read with something like a shock of surprise. If a reader had taken his notion of the nature and structure of theology from such theologians as Dorner, if, under the influence of such a work as Dorner's "Person of Christ," he had believed Christian thought had done something and arrived at some assured result, he soon finds that Dr Kaftan writes down all such studies as irrelevant, misleading, and impossible. For theology cannot be a science of the objects of faith. It cannot reach truth; it must be content with such knowledge as is required for practice.

We have found a great difficulty in determining the starting point of Dr Kaftan. In his account of ecclesiastical dogma we are at once landed into a discussion of Greek philosophy and of Christian faith, and of the relation between the two. More particularly we are told that Dogma has its origin in the combination of the Christian faith with the Logos idea. But one would surely expect that Dr Kaftan, in dealing with Christian dogma, might have made some adequate reference to the New Testament. What is the relation of dogma to the teaching of the New Testament? After giving his own account of the origin of dogma, Dr Kaftan has a few pages on the relation of dogma to the New Testament. He admits a certain connection between the Logos idea in the Fourth Gospel and dogma, between certain Pauline epistles and dogma, but the connection is only apparent. "Any one who is not satisfied with a superficial observation of that fact, but considers the whole connection, must admit that these conclusions of the New Testament are *the latest offshoots* of the process of thought in the New Testament, whereas in the ecclesiastical development of doctrine the identification of the pre-incarnate Christ with the Logos is made the determinative starting-point of the process of thought. Even in the Gospel of John we find nothing more than just a *leaning* upon the Logos idea. Even here it is not this idea, but that of the perfect *revelation* of God, which is the distinctively governing thought. And whoever considers that according to John that revelation of God was made for the purpose of bringing men to the saving knowledge of God, and again, that the knowledge of God so attained calls forth love to God, and that love to God necessarily expresses itself in love to the brethren, and in general in the fulfilling of His commandments, he soon sees in what close touch all this stands with the preaching of the kingdom recorded in the synoptic Gospels," vol. i. pp. 112, 3. Dr Kaftan ends with the curious reflection, "the fact that the old theology begins at the point at which the New Testament arrives as a closing point, tells, in truth, of no such progress, but signifies that the leading idea is coming to be different, to be relatively opposed. I do not think it will be possible to mistake that fact for any length of time," p. 113. The passage quoted is fitted to give rise to many reflections. We are inclined to ask a good many questions. Is the remark about "the latest offshoots of the process of thought in the New Testament" intended to make them less normative and authoritative than the earlier branches are? If not, what is the relevancy of the remark? There is a remarkable development of doctrine in the New Testament. What are we to make of that development in Dr Kaftan's view? Has the process of deterioration been at work within the bounds of the New Testament? What are we to make of the contrast between

the later and the earlier of the Epistles of St Paul? We know, for instance, what the view of Pfeiderer is. He makes Hellenism to be a great factor, if not the most potent factor, in the production of the New Testament writings. For him Paul is a Hellenist, and Hellenistic tendencies have, according to Pfeiderer, produced the successive strata of New Testament doctrine, until it culminated in the Fourth Gospel. But, then, Pfeiderer believes in Hellenism, and Dr Kaftan does not. For the one Hellenism is truth, for the other it has led to the corruption of the Christian Faith. We have a right to inquire what Dr Kaftan is to make of the development of doctrine within the New Testament? Is it legitimate? If it is, why should he despair of reaching a knowledge of true doctrine?

It is also a large assumption which Dr Kaftan makes, when he says that "the old theology begins when the New Testament ends." Not many people will believe that statement. Certainly no one who believes that the New Testament is the norm of Christian teaching for every age. We have placed this criticism at the outset, because until Dr Kaftan has dealt more fully with the apparent sanction which is given to dogma by the New Testament, he has not laid the foundation on which the superstructure is to be built. For the New Testament does appear to make statements about the person of Christ, His cosmical position, His pre-existence, His creative and redemptive activity, which mean something, and which were meant to be understood. Are Christian men to ignore such doctrinal statements as we find in the Epistles to the Ephesians and the Colossians? Are they to be shut out from any definite views as to the relation of Christ to them, to the world, and to God? Is there no Christian view of the world?

Dr Kaftan is, however, of opinion that the primary place given to knowledge and doctrine, and the substitution of the idea of the Logos for that of the kingdom of God, led the early church astray, and that theology from that day followed in the wrong track. What then is the remedy? Are we to get rid of dogma altogether? No; for the church cannot dispense with a body of dogma. She must have a didactic presentation of Christian truth, and yet on Dr Kaftan's terms it seems impossible for her to have such? What are we to think of the history of dogma? Is it a misfortune that the church has been led to lay such stress on knowledge, and to attach such importance to dogma? We cannot tell what Dr Kaftan's view really is. For at one time he seems to long for the deliverance of the church from dogma, and at another time he seems to regard the whole process as divinely ordered and providential. "Who can fail to see that that was not an accidental result of circumstances there and then existing, one which might have also turned out differently, that in what concerns this

process we must rather speak, if we can do so anywhere, of *historical necessity*? In order to strike root in the educated world of Greece and Rome—and without doing that it could not fulfil its vocation in universal history—Christianity had to accommodate itself to the intellectual life existing in that world. Not as if that was done intentionally or even consciously. It resulted quite spontaneously. Very soon the church had no other officials whatever except such as themselves shared the presuppositions of antique life. But how were these men to adopt Christianity if not by arriving at an understanding of it with the aid of the intellectual means which lay at their disposal? How were they to impart it to others if not just in the way they had understood it themselves, and in which alone it could be intelligible to the others also? And, lastly, how could it be conceivable that in this development form and content were kept separate, that only the form was derived from the intellectual life which already existed, while the whole content proceeded from the new evangel? That is not the course of things in real history. The Gospel certainly transforms those who accept it in faith into new men. But it does so by acting as a leaven in the old existing mass, and in such a way that the results are something relatively new—in our case the form which Christianity first assumed in the educated world of humanity, and which it had to assume there. It is therefore not surprising—the issue is simply self-evident—if, as is the case, the dogma which arose then is not a pure expression of the Christian faith, but the Christian faith intimately combined with the intellectual contents of antique life, and expressed in the intellectual forms of that life" (vol. i., p. 74-5). How far is the principle enunciated here to be carried? Are we to say that Christianity in every age has to accommodate itself to the intellectual life existing in that age? Are we on that principle to judge of Dr Kaftan's book? Are we to look on it as an attempt to accommodate Christianity to the Agnosticism and the Empiricism of the present hour? This might be a severe judgment, but it would be only to apply to himself and his work what he has applied to the history of dogma.

There are many things in the work which are true in themselves, and finely said. It is well to set forth, as Dr Kaftan has done, the practical aim of Christianity, and to show that above all else it has for aim and purpose the redemption and the blessedness of man. This is a truth never to be forgotten, and we may be grateful to Dr Kaftan for reminding us of it in so forcible a way. This aim may be fully recognised and acted on, without causing a divorce between the rational and the practical interests of man. If it can be shown that reason is wrong in its affirmations, if reason cannot reach universal and necessary truth, what trust can be placed in

any of the faculties and tendencies of man? Dr Kaftan has introduced a contradiction into human nature, and he is unable to overcome it. The peculiarity of his method is that he has a theory of knowledge in virtue of which he denies the possibility of a theory of knowledge. His treatment also of dogma and its history is determined by the theory of knowledge which he advocates. A theory of knowledge does not stand by itself. It determines the view we take of every thing, and philosophy, science, and theology vary in contents according to the theory of knowledge which a man may hold. Ritschl recognises this, "Each theologian is under necessity or obligation as a scientific man to proceed according to a definite theory of knowledge, of which he must be conscious himself, and the legitimacy of which he must prove." (Quoted by Dr Orr, *Thinker*, August 1892.) Dr Kaftan recognises the obligation, and in the second volume elaborates his theory of knowledge. His position is that of an agnostic empiricist. That is to say, he bases knowledge on empiricism, and denies that it can reach universal and necessary truth. His method is to start "with the primacy of the Will in our self-consciousness and of the Practical Reason in our philosophical speculation." He accepts from Kant all the destructive results of the Kantian criticism, and has not accepted Kant's proof that synthetic judgments *a priori* are possible. He builds largely on Kant's postulates of the Practical Reason, but gives to the element of knowledge in our experience a very subordinate position.

Dr Kaftan begins with an examination of "Common Knowledge," and states what seems to him to be its characteristics. "If I affirm that I know something—no matter whether I am wrong or not—I mean that my assertion agrees with reality, and that I have every reason to be convinced that such is the case." "Knowledge is in principle communicable, and can always be a general possession." So far all is well. But as we proceed difficulties arise, and the course of procedure becomes by no means clear. For we find that what we seek to know is not reality, but "we desire to know about things because we must accommodate ourselves to them in our action, with the view of making them serviceable for our purposes. It is from this point of view that ordinary knowledge originates and is developed. It is quite natural, therefore, that from the first it includes *an element of arbitrariness*, and that a piece of knowledge suffices for us as soon as it simply expresses completely, exactly, and without error, that side of things that possesses interest for us, and falls to be considered in its bearing on our purposes, while all else is put aside, as "collateral circumstances" or as "accidental" (vol. ii. p. 26). We ask for explanations and none are forthcoming. If "an element of arbitrariness" enters into all knowledge, how can my knowledge "agree with reality"? What security has Dr Kaf-

tan, that the same element of arbitrariness enters into the knowledge of every individual? If each individual supplies his own element of arbitrariness, how can knowledge be a general possession? It would seem that if there is to be common knowledge, the element of arbitrariness must be eliminated, or the arbitrary element must be common to all men, in which case it ceases to be arbitrary.

When he passes from the knowledge of individual things to general notions, we find that for him the general notion is an "arbitrary creation of the mind," and that our common knowledge as it takes form in our consciousness always involves a "natural illusion." How are the arbitrariness and the illusiveness to be overcome? For they must be overcome if we are to have knowledge of reality, and to have knowledge as a common possession. "It appears that the forms of our ordinary knowledge, in which we gather up its contents, are determined by the consideration of practice, and therefore give evidence of the arbitrariness which is always connected with it. At the same time, a further defect in it will meet us here, a *natural illusion* inherent in it" (p. 41). It is natural to ask what effect the arbitrariness and illusiveness have on practice? Do they in any way interfere with our power of making things serviceable to us, or with our relation to reality? Dr Kaftan assumes that they do not, but he assumes, or rather states, that they are sufficient to destroy our confidence in the possibility of theoretical knowledge. He rejoices in the conclusion, for he is of opinion that up to the present time men have laid too much stress on knowledge. His aim is to make knowledge and intelligence serve only for the purpose of practical life. He uses knowledge for the purpose of discrediting itself. And we cannot get rid of the conviction that there is something arbitrary and illusive in the procedure.

We pass on to his comparison of common knowledge with science. "The extension and correction of common knowledge is the purpose aimed at by science." We thought that when common knowledge is corrected by science we should get rid of the arbitrary and illusive elements which troubled us. We met instead with new surprises. "Science is always composed of general judgments. The particular fact purely as such has no interest for it, and does not appear in it at all. It is only when the fact has been freed from isolation and brought under a general rule, or has led to a discovery of such a rule, that it is scientifically accepted and mastered. Otherwise it stands over as a problem for the solution of which means will perhaps be found by and by. Science has always to do with what is general and with that alone. It therefore necessarily declines to seek an exact knowledge of what is individual, as it concerns itself only with the elements which things and processes possess in common: and in that way it inevitably shares in the

arbitrariness involved in general notions and judgments" (p. 85). We do not seem to make any progress towards getting rid of arbitrariness. On the contrary we have made scientific knowledge as arbitrary as common knowledge. And there is no approach to reality. Empiricism has always made the same fatal mistake. It assumes that science deals only with generalities, "with the elements which things and processes have in common." If it did so, it would not be science. For it deals not only with the elements which things have in common, but also with those which make a thing a thing. Scientific knowledge is more abstract than common knowledge: it is also more concrete. If science looks at things in relation to one another, and endeavours to bring them all under general laws, it has also another process in hand at the same time. It seeks to obtain a more systematic knowledge of differences as well. Thus science is not merely a process of abstraction or analysis, by which it seeks to arrive at more and more general laws: it is also a process of synthesis, by which it arrives at a more adequate knowledge of concrete realities. What common knowledge means by any phenomena, say light or air, is very different from the knowledge of it possessed by the scientific man. By science such a word as "light" is looked at more concretely, more adequately. It means for science the undulations of an elastic medium, and the sensibility of the retina, and many other concrete things unnoticed by common knowledge. In fact scientific knowledge is distinguished from common knowledge, not so much by generality, but by the definiteness with which it recognises the various elements and their relations which make up the concrete unity with which it deals.

The most curious part of Dr Kaftan's theory is that which deals with "the relation of a thing to its properties," and "with the relation of cause and effect." His position here is essentially that of J. S. Mill. He is specially indebted also to the very subtle and remarkable essay by Mr Shute, "a Discourse on Truth," London, 1878. We shall not say much of Mr Shute's essay. It is in our judgment the most subtle and plausible presentation of the empirical view which has been given since Hume. It is written also in the most delightful way, with an ease and simplicity of style as admirable as it is rare. But even Mr Shute has not been able to give any rational account of the universality and necessity which belong to certain judgments. Dr Kaftan has simply borrowed his analysis of the causal judgment, and has not added anything to it. Nor is there any improvement on the presentation of the case for empiricism as it has been presented in this country by such writers the Mills, Bain, Lewes and others. "Thus too we find that the picture of the world drawn for us by physical science is in great

part a creation of our own minds, not a product of necessity arising from the constraint of the will to live, but certainly a work of meditated art, struck out in the interest of those practical purposes of the human race which are comprised in our intellectual sovereignty over the world" (p. 118.) It would be instructive also to examine Dr Kaftan's account of the necessity existing in logic and mathematics. This necessity is only subjective. "Our subjective apprehension is after all the main point in the case; and here arbitrariness has wide scope." What Dr Kaftan has not explained is how a product of subjective arbitrariness has relations to the real world we know! How men should have been able to formulate, say the laws and properties of conic sections, and to find that they were thinking after the same manner as the thought manifested in the universe. Why should arbitrary combinations in mathematics find their counterpart in nature? He got no answer from Dr Kaftan.

There is a curious section in which Dr Kaftan seeks to come to an understanding with Comte, on which we have not space to make any remark. As we follow Dr Kaftan, we find that we have to unlearn as well as to learn many things. We have to master a new meaning of Understanding and Reason. "The fruitful knowledge of the Understanding gives a feeling of mastery over the things known, the knowledge of Reason has as its starting-point a practical subjection of man to the truth expressed in the guiding Idea." When we reached this point, and read this sentence, we thought we had come to something objective, and freed from arbitrariness. "The truth expressed by the guiding idea" must be something worth knowing. We had not proceeded far when we found ourselves in the old position. "A judgment of reason is always in part an expression of personal conviction. For a judgment of the kind is implied in the decision made in favour of definite religious and moral ideas, upholding the truth and validity of them alone," p. 193. In short, from first to last we are confronted with arbitrariness. From the first beginnings of knowledge up to the highest affirmation of reason, we are in the region of arbitrariness and caprice. On this theory it is difficult to understand how man has attained to "an intellectual sovereignty of the world."

The same arbitrary demand enters into Dr Kaftan's view of the Kingdom of God, which, for him, answers to the true idea of the Chief Good. The Idea of the Chief Good does not express the whole meaning of the Kingdom of God. There are other Ideas, such as the True, the Just, the Pure, which are essential to the meaning of the Kingdom of God. But if the True were recognised as an essential element in the Kingdom of God, Dr Kaftan's theory would be at once recognised as inadequate. But in his view, the Kingdom of God, and God Himself, and all the creation of God,

are placed as means for the realisation of the will of man to live. Man becomes the centre and the measure of things. Truth and knowledge are means by which man can attain to the sovereignty of the world, and are of no value in themselves. The Kingdom of God is not an end, but a means by which man may attain to freedom from sin, and to positive blessedness. The Godhead becomes a means by which hindrances to man's salvation are swept away, and helps are given to man by which he can attain blessedness. We submit that a system of Apologetics which makes all existence a mere means for the blessedness of man is on the face of it inadequate, that a system of philosophy which makes knowledge impossible, places what knowledge we may attain to in utter subordination to the will, and makes truth unattainable, is suicidal, and that a system of doctrine which places the Kingdom of God and God Himself as a mere instrument and means for the blessedness of man, is too Ptolemaic for the present hour, and will not long survive.

JAMES IVERACH.

A Dissertation on John Norris of Bemerton.

*By F. J. Powicke, Ph.D. London : George Philip & Son.
Cr. 8vo, pp. 218. Price 5s. net.*

THIS volume gives a clear and concise account of the life and writings of an English philosopher of two centuries ago. Born in 1657, the son of a minister of Puritan opinions in Wiltshire, he was educated at Winchester School and Exeter College, Oxford; and as soon as he began to think for himself, he seems to have cast off his father's views and to have adopted strong Tory and High Church principles. One of his earliest writings was directed against the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination, which he says he had "imbibed with his mother's milk" and had not rejected till after a prolonged mental struggle. He became a Fellow of All Souls in 1680, and remained there for nine years. In 1689 he became Rector of Newton St Ives in Somersetshire, and two years later he was translated to the living of Bemerton in Wiltshire, where he spent the remaining twenty years of his life. He wrote much, and in different characters. At times he could stoop to the level of an ordinary seventeenth century pamphleteer, as in his early fugitive publications; in other publications he appears in quite another light, as a theologian of a stern, ascetic tone.

The latter aspect comes out very strongly in a work entitled "Spiritual Counsel," which he wrote originally for the use of his own children. It reads like a monkish manual of devotion in many

parts, and shows few traces of the mystic views with which Norris's name is principally associated. He advises his children to shun the world and its pleasures as much as possible, and frequently to make religious "retreats." "Place yourselves frequently upon your deathbeds, in your coffins and in your graves. Meditate much upon the places and the days of darkness and upon the fewness of those that shall be saved." He recommends set times for religious exercises, and whole days to be spent in prayer and fasting. The entire spirit of this treatise, both in its sincere piety, its prevailing stern and gloomy tone, and its inculcation of the usefulness of forms and rules of devotion, strikingly calls to mind the spirit of the leaders of the Oxford Movement of 1833.

When we pass to the philosophical writings of Norris, we enter a different atmosphere. It is true that he did not belong to the class of what have been termed natural mystics. He was not, as Mr Powicke says, of such an intensely spiritual temperament as the illustrious Cambridge Platonist, Henry More, whom in many things he looked up to as his master. It is all the more remarkable that by sheer force of reasoning he should have come to conclusions substantially the same as those of the Cambridge mystical school. The first essay of Norris in this field was his translation of the "Golden Verses" of Hierocles, the celebrated Neo-Platonist of the fifth century. In his preface he exhibits a tone towards pagan philosophers which contrasts strangely with the intolerant spirit he frequently displayed against the Dissenters of his own day. "There is not one precept of Christianity so exalted and heroic but may be paralleled in the Heathen. No man can deny this who has ever read the morals of Plutarch, Seneca, Epictetus, Cicero, and the rest. They teach not only outward conformity, but also inward purity. They recommend and enjoin the love of enemies (?). Sometimes they discourse so much like seraphims and the most ecstasized order of intelligences that the reader seems lifted toward the third heaven. They are most defective in their idea of God, but even here the wisest pagans were accurate enough in their conceptions and (except only the inconceivable mystery of the Trinity) thought as well of God as any Christian whatsoever, and better than a great many of them do."

Norris seems to have thought out very early the main points of his philosophical system. They all appear in outline in a volume which he published in 1689 under the title of "Reason and Religion, or the grounds and measures of devotion considered from the nature of God and the nature of man, in several contemplations, with exercises of devotion applied to every contemplation." As will be seen from the last clause of the heading, this work is not purely speculative, and it bears a somewhat more popular character

than the author's more elaborate later writings. From its pages alone, however, we might define with tolerable exactness the philosophical and theological position occupied by Norris. His cardinal doctrine, which he derived directly from the French philosopher Malebranche, is that we see the ideas of all things in God, and in an interesting passage he states how he was led to this view.

In his next work on a philosophical subject he engaged in controversy with no less a person than Locke. In the year in which the "Essay on the Human Understanding" appeared (1690), he published what he called some "Cursory Reflections" on it in the form of a letter to a friend. The chief subject of his criticism is directed against Locke's denial of the doctrine of innate ideas. He contends that the arguments of the latter are insufficient for his purpose, and that on Locke's principle he can never disprove innate ideas. Locke took no open notice, during his lifetime, of Norris's animadversions, but he jotted down some "hasty thoughts," as he styled them, on the subject, which were found among his papers, and published after his death. He is certainly less respectful to his antagonist than the latter had been to him. As Mr Powicke says, "The inevitable antagonism of the two minds comes out sharply, not seldom in words, and in a tone, which betray the common-sense philosopher's contempt."

Some of the points in the discussion remind us strongly of more recent disputes. "We have a distinct idea of God," says Norris. "To say that we see Him as He is in Himself is presumption," answers Locke. "God made all things for Himself, therefore we see all things in Him," says Norris. "And this is called demonstration," answers Locke. Such passages cannot fail to suggest to the memory of those who have read it the controversy between Mr Maurice and Mr Mansel on "What is Revelation?" Locke's sarcastic tone displays much the same spirit as the latter writer showed in reply to the former's strictures on his Bampton Lectures.

The *opus magnum* of Norris did not appear till many years after this controversy. This work, in which he gave to the world the fullest and most elaborate exposition of his philosophical system, was entitled, "An Essay towards the Theory of the Ideal or Intelligible World." This treatise was divided into two parts, of which the first appeared in 1701, and the second in 1704. In the former volume Norris considers the ideal world "absolutely in itself," in the latter "with relation to the human understanding." Norris begins by affirming "the existence of two worlds—the one natural, the other ideal. The former consists of things *rerum naturá* created in time out of nothing by the free and arbitrary will of the

Almighty Laws." The definition of the latter evidently gives him more trouble, and it requires some mental exertion to grasp the meaning of the words in which he describes it. It is, "This state of things which is necessary, permanent, and immutable, not only antecedent and pre-existent to this (the material world), but also exemplary and representative of it; having in it the reason, essences, and specific natures of all things, and whereof all things in the natural world are but as the prints and impressions."

Having thus stated the groundwork of his theory, he proceeds to bring forward his proofs. He argues that the visible universe cannot always have been in being, and that its existence must have been derived "from some other Being." Its Maker, he goes on to contend, "must have thought it before He made it. But thinking is a seeing of the mind." God, therefore, must have seen the world before He made it. But where or how did He see it? To answer this question, we are compelled to admit the existence of an ideal or intelligible world, "in which things had a real existence, according to their essential reasons and nature, before they had any in this." We are here somewhat reminded of a remarkable modern work of a very different character from the one we are now considering—the "Unseen Universe." Its authors base their conclusions largely on physical facts and speculations, of which Norris knew nothing; but they begin by arguing, in language very similar to his, that the visible universe implies an invisible one behind it, from which it received its being.

Norris proceeds to maintain that the Eternal Essences or ideas of things can only be conceived as elements of the Divine nature, and argues that this was really Plato's doctrine: "There is, I know, a certain traditional presumption, I know not well how or why, as if Plato should place his ideas out of God, representing them as so many abstract and universal forms or essences, separately existing from the Divine nature, which must be very gross philosophy if really Plato's; but I think that it is indeed none of his, and whoever can but keep himself awake while he but reads over his 'Timeæus,' will, I believe, find reason to think so too, viz.:—that by his ideas he meant only the original forms or patterns of things in the Divine understanding (the very same we are now contending for), and accordingly, that he placed his ideas nowhere else but in God."

This position is not accepted by all, or perhaps even by the majority of Platonic students at the present day, and the objections of Dr Martineau in his "Types of Ethical Theory" must be allowed to have considerable force. Still, the view of Norris has certainly commended itself to many minds, and remains at least fairly tenable. But though the ideas exist in God, we are not to conceive of them as created by him; they are as Eternal as Himself. Norris

points out the bearing of this doctrine upon Christian Theology. "Though the Divine ideas have an emanative result, as I may call it, from the essence of God, yet they are not the creatures of His understanding or of His will, which by the way may intimate to us what relation they stand in to Him of whom we are taught to say in our more solemn creed, 'not made nor created but begotten.'"

"Ideas as being in God are God." But the Logos is also God. 'He is indeed the great Idea and Exemplar of the whole creation, and the true intelligible world, and as the Divine Ideas themselves give us a fair designation of His Person, so their necessary emanation from the All-perfect and All-being nature of God, do as well express His Eternal but ineffable generation.' This leads Norris to consider the relation of the Divine Ideas to "the formation of the natural and sensible world" and the function of the Eternal word or Logos in creation.

His reasoning is abstruse and difficult of comprehension, but his general idea appears to be that the part of the Logos was, as Mr Powicke puts it in his marginal analysis, "not to make but to model." The ideas are not only "Exemplars or patterns in creation, or first production of things," they stand in the same relation to "all successive generations of them." "Through them (which is the same thing as saying through the Word) the world is sustained as well as made."

Norris now enters into a comparison of the two worlds with the object of showing that "the existence of the intelligible world is more certain than that of the sensible." His reasoning rests on substantially the same grounds as those on which Berkeley founded his system. He assails the evidence of the senses as less certain than that of the reason; yet he does not believe that they "entirely abuse and deceive us," neither does he deny the real existence of the material world. Still, it is evident that much in his line of thought leads logically to Berkeley's conclusions. As Mr Powicke puts it, "matter for Norris was a logical impropriety. It was a dead weight on his system which he did not dare to cut off."

Norris next considers the ideal world in relation to Eternal Truths, which he regards as resulting inevitably from the Divine Ideas. "Eternal truths must be resolved into the essence and substance of God." He controverts the position of Descartes, "who will have all truth to be positively ordained and established by God, so that according to him, two and two might not have been four or the three angles of a triangle might not have been equal to two right angles." Here we light upon a perennial topic of controversy, and one, as Mr Powicke says, of "vital importance," and Norris champions with vigour and ability the side to which our moral feelings naturally incline.

The second part of the treatise, though larger in size than the first, is not so intrinsically important for the understanding of Norris's views and theories. He states his object to be "to see whether upon our ideal foundations, we can give an account of the true manner of human understanding, or, at least, erect an intelligible system of it. The questions he propounds for resolution are: (1) Of what is thinking a function? (2) How do we think?

Thought, he decides, cannot be ascribed to matter; it must be the property of spirit. He next engages in a long discussion as to the nature of thought, in which the complicated divisions and subdivisions are rather bewildering; thought being classified under a great number of different heads, as formal and objective, reflex and direct, of perception and volition, active and passive, simple and complex, clear and confused, pure and impure.

We are enjoined to distinguish our objects of knowledge as absolute or relative to us. The former are comprehended by a "real presence." "God is immediately intelligible, not absolutely as to degree and extent of knowledge, but as to immediateness." Ideas and Eternal truths are also classed as self-revealing. Objects of relative knowledge are either in or out of the mind; "things in the mind are not our ideas but our thoughts (*i.e.*, acts of thinking), of whatever kind they be." Things out of the mind, *i.e.*, material objects, are seen by the mediation of ideas. Nothing in the world of matter can be immediately perceived by itself.

The last point to be considered is how men derived their ideas. Here Norris closely follows Malebranche, and adopting the classification of the latter, specifies six possible theories of the origin of ideas, deciding in favour of the view that the "ideas whereby we understand are the divine ideas." In fact, we may be said to see all things in God. Norris winds up by stating "some of the advantages to religion and morality, which may be inferred from the theory." Such in outline is his "ideal system."

He cannot be said to have much matter that is absolutely original. His general line of thought is the same as that of the Cambridge Platonists, and he has been styled the last of the school. He cannot be placed on an equal footing with such men as Cudworth and More, and his biographer makes no such claim for him. But he often displays great freshness and vigour in the handling of his subjects; and the peculiar position which he occupies as one who was led to mystical conclusions by a process of logical reasoning, would alone render him worthy of attention. And the questions with which he was occupied, are, as Mr Powicke truly said, though under different names, "just as living and pressing to-day as they ever were. These questions are of perennial interest, and are the vital breath of philosophy." R. SEYMOUR LONG.

The Riddle of the Universe.*By Edward Douglas Fawcett. London: Edward Arnold.**8vo, pp. xvi. 440. Price, 14s.*

THIS book, like a great many others, is stronger on its negative than on its positive side. It is distinctly able, and gives evidence of much industrious reading—logical, psychological, and metaphysical. The first part of it is critical, and is concerned with the metaphysical views of the leading European thinkers from Descartes to Von Hartmann. The second part is constructive, albeit incidentally critical, inasmuch as it assails materialism, agnosticism, destructive idealism, University philosophy, theology, and the defective side of modern mysticism. With Part I. we are in general agreement, and think that, within the limited space, an uncommonly good account has been given of the great philosophies passed under review. There is nowhere any surfeit of detail; but each system, in so far as relevant to the end in view, is briefly stated, lucidly explained, and canvassed with insight. We are also in general harmony with Mr Fawcett in his analysis and criticism of the various *isms* of Part II., and are specially impressed with his handling of Materialism. The sole criticism we should be disposed to urge has reference to his treatment of Pessimism. He appears to us to have drawn the present life in far too dark colours, even though the intention may be the pious one of proving the necessity of a future life or lives. It is never well to exaggerate; but it is ever well, in this matter of pessimism, to remember that there are many optimists, or at any rate meliorists, among philosophers, who have found the reason of their faith in the very facts of the present life, apart altogether from considerations of a hereafter, or even from the facts and experiences of religion. Where, however, we separate from Mr Fawcett entirely is when he comes to the handling and critique of Theism, and to his own presentation of the doctrine that is to supersede Theism. He is an idealist—which we can quite well appreciate. His idealism is founded on a monadology—which we can also understand. But when, further, he proceeds to place behind his monadology, “no conscious individual,” but the impersonal self-actualizing Metaconscious, which, as *prius*, is “the abysmal black night whence individuals, and with them consciousness, uprise,” and which in the end emerges as the Deity, “no individual,” however, “but a republic of interpenetrative individuals, a Being with myriads of eyes, every one of which is itself a Deity,” we feel that he is simply feeding us with “words, words, words.” If atheism, pantheism, theism, and agnosticism can be synthesised only thus, we are afraid that the riddle of the universe remains un-

solved. In like manner, we are in disagreement with Mr Fawcett in his doctrine of the persistence of the individual. Palingenesis may be logical corollary from the Metaconscious ; but it raises more difficulties than it removes. We cannot allow Reason to be swamped by "mystic insight,"—at least, not in philosophy, though it may be otherwise in poetry.

WILLIAM L. DAVIDSON.

Man an Organic Community.

By John H. King. In Two Volumes. London and New York : Williams & Norgate. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 327 and 328. Price, 15s.

THIS is a biological, not a metaphysical, work ; though the title might, not unnaturally, suggest the latter. It is occupied with illustrating and working out the principle that "the Human Personality in all its phases in Evolution, both co-ordinate and discordinate, is the multiple of many sub-personalities" : in other words, "that the human personality is a co-ordination or growth combination of many differentiated distinct sub-personalities, and that these sub-personalities in like manner consist of aggregates of lower class differentiations, until we arrive at the primary constituents of organisms, the free-moving granules of plasma." That the workmanship is competent, though the literary style might be greatly improved, cannot be disputed. The facts of embryology and evolution are marshalled with skill ; and the vast mass of physiological and pathological material that is here brought together is deftly manipulated to the end in view. Yet, the question *will* arise, "Is the biological problem the whole problem in the case ? or must we not rather supplement the biological facts with a metaphysical foundation ?" To us, the answer is not doubtful ; and the very imperfections which Mr King himself feels to adhere to his handling at critical points, and the unsolved problems of life that he glances at in his Appendix, show that more has to be done than is here attempted before the position that man is an organic community can be fully understood. Philogenesis, ontogenesis, and all the other "geneses" notwithstanding, Personality is not simply biological ; and Evolution—being merely a method, though a most significant one—cannot dispense with the deeper truth that itself presupposes, but does not formulate. Nevertheless, as a clear and wonderfully exhaustive statement of the grounds for holding that the Human Personality is a derivation from, "and betimes rever-sionary representation of, animal characteristics, both mental and organic, thus implying their oneness of origin," Mr King's work is

to be commended, and, particularly, in its treatment of abnormal discordinate states. We expected, indeed, to hear more of Weismann than we do, and to have some reference to Romanes; but the authorities consulted cover a large range, and the information is well up to date. Only once or twice—say, in the references to “sarcode”—did we feel as though we were thrown back to the Natural History classroom of twenty years ago.

WILLIAM L. DAVIDSON.

History of the Philosophy of History.

By Robert Flint, Corresponding Member of the Institute of France; Honorary Member of the Royal Society of Palermo; Professor in the University of Edinburgh, &c. Vol. I.—Historical Philosophy in France and French-Belgium and Switzerland. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1893. 8vo, pp. xxvii. 706. Price 21s.

“Too swift arrives too tardy as too slow” is the appropriate motto prefixed to this book. No weightier addition has been made to Scottish literature in our time by a Scottish theologian; nor has any more important contribution to historical philosophy come in recent years from any scholar, whether native or foreign. It is because the work is the ripe result of patience and self-control that this can be said of it. In a time of hasty production, when men are tempted to court recognition by cultivating the smaller arts of literary popularity, or by striving after things novel and surprising, this book is a conspicuous example of study long protracted, of publication long restrained, of a method entirely sane and unpretentious, of a style utterly free of anything strained or adventitious. It is the first instalment toward the final completion of a purpose formed over twenty years ago, and persevered in with strenuous constancy ever since. Impressed from his youth with the grandeur of the history of mankind as the greatest of all studies, Professor Flint made his first attempt on any large scale to describe and value men's thoughts on that subject so far back as 1874. This was done in his book entitled “The Philosophy of History in France and Germany,” which at once took high rank among works of its kind. The present volume is a new beginning in the execution of the same project, taking up the old study on a still larger scale, on a better plan, and with the advantage of wider knowledge and more prolonged reflection.

The former volume dealt both with France and with Germany. This one limits itself mainly to the survey of French thoughts, and finds in that more than enough for its crowded pages. It is to be

followed by other volumes, the materials for which are gathered. The scheme of the work is to trace the course of historical philosophy along the national channels, giving a review of what has been done in this department of enquiry by the several peoples who have achieved most distinction in it. These are the French, the Germans, the Italians, and the English. A fourfold division, therefore, is adopted. The currents of thought are to be followed in each of these nations separately. Belgian and Swiss literature, however, is to be taken along with French; Dutch together with German; and American in conjunction with English. In this first volume, accordingly, after an elaborate and valuable introduction, in which he discusses the idea, scope, and method of his subject, the origins of historical narrative, the growth of history towards a scientific stage, and the value of the speculations and achievements of Plato, Aristotle, Augustine, and Ibn Khaldun, Professor Flint concentrates our attention on the Philosophy of History in France. Commencing with a short sketch of Medieval historiography, he notices the beginnings of historical Philosophy in Bodin, and from that traces the progress of the study through the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. No name of any importance is omitted, no work with any claims to notice is left without exposition and criticism. Those writers who have exercised the greatest influence on the course of reflection, and made the most characteristic contributions in each particular period, are reviewed at length and their distinctive positions carefully determined. Among these special consideration is given to Bossuet for the seventeenth century, and to Montesquieu, Turgot, Voltaire, Rousseau, and Condorcet for the eighteenth. The nineteenth century is so much richer that it has to be dealt with in sections. The Ultramontanist and Liberal Catholic Schools are taken by themselves, the former as represented by De Maistre, De Bonald, and De Lamennais, the latter by Gratry. The Socialistic Schools, the Spiritualistic Movement, the Democratic Historical School, the Naturalistic and Positivist Schools, the Critical School, and the Historical Philosophy of Belgium and Switzerland, are next examined in succession. In connection with these we have reasoned statements of the positions of representative men like St Simon, Buchez, Leroux, Le Blanc, Cousin, Jouffroy, Guizot, Javary, De Tocqueville, Michelet, Quinet, Comte, Littré, Taine, Cournot, Renouvier, Altmeyer, Vinet, Secretan, De Rougemont, and others. The immense field is exhaustively surveyed. Its vast riches are most skilfully unlocked. The wealth of matter is so great, the names which come under review are so many, that the book almost defies criticism. Only one who has read as extensively and thought as carefully as the author has done, could undertake a critical estimate of the volume as a whole. But by what Professor Flint

says of the few thinkers with whom one can claim some measure of acquaintance, we can judge of the worth of the accounts given of the multitude of writers, great and small, familiar and unfamiliar, who are made to pass under our eye in these learned and instructive pages.

Something may be said, however, of the scheme of the book and the general conception which is formed of its subject. In constructing his History on what may be called the *national* plan in preference to the *universal*, Professor Flint lays himself open to obvious criticism. It seems most reasonable for the historian of the Philosophy of History to give the movement of thought, from its beginnings along the entire line of its progress, as it can be traced, stage by stage, not merely in a particular nationality, but in humanity as a whole. And that is the principle which has been accepted by some, of whom Rocholl is perhaps the most recent example. To follow the history along the course which it has pursued in each of the leading nations by itself is not only to risk the loss of unity and to lead to needless repetition, but to disturb the historical view by allowing too much to the influence of nationality and too little to that of collective civilisation. It is not because he does not recognise the force of these objections that Professor Flint adopts the other scheme. He admits that to give a complete review of the intellectual movement all the world over, from epoch to epoch, is theoretically the better plan. But he urges the difficulty of carrying it out. The rupture of unity, he thinks, will be greater on this scheme than on the other, the historian having to pass from country to country in a confusing and discontinuous fashion. The difficulty is increased, he points out, by the circumstance that the great mass of the history in question belongs to the last sixty or seventy years. Having tried the *general* or *universal* scheme, and found it impracticable in his hands, he has decided for the other. All will admit that he has made splendid work of it, and that, as he treats it, it not only yields satisfactory results for the immediate subject, but has the recommendation of enlarging our understanding of the intellectual development of the several nations themselves. We cannot but feel, nevertheless, that serious disadvantages attach to this scheme, and that the other, if it were handled with equal ability, should give us the completer and more continuous view—all the more that the sense in which the great peoples of the ancient world made *nations* is so different from the modern idea of nationality. These disadvantages will be so far remedied if the description of the particular national developments is followed by a general review of their characteristics and relationships, and an exposition of the nature of the universal movement of which they form parts. But the fact that it is confessed to be necessary to supplement the

history proper by this general review tells against the scientific fitness of the scheme.

Another point which may seem doubtful is the intermingling of the critical with the historical in a book which takes the title of a *History* of the Philosophy of History. Professor Flint commences his task with the announcement that his aim is both critical and historical. His first object is to give an objective account of what men have thought from time to time on the great subject of the life and progress of humanity. Men's ideas, he rightly contends, are not less fit and proper subjects for historical treatment than men's acts. To give a survey of men's reflections on man's history is a work which can never be uninteresting or unprofitable, and at present it is both opportune and of great value. In many respects it is pre-eminently in harmony with the tendencies of the time. But to be effectual it must be beyond the suspicion of partiality or bias. It may be questioned whether two faculties so unlike as the critical and the historical can exist in proper balance in one and the same mind, and the fear is natural that the judgments of the critic may colour and deflect the historical statement. Professor Flint is not blind to this danger. He speaks of it, indeed, as "almost ludicrous" to expect anything to be gained by a mixture of the criticisms of the historian with his historical survey in the case of the history of philosophy or theology. But he conceives that the danger is much less in the case of a "comparatively recent and comparatively limited department of knowledge," like the one in question. There is no doubt force in this. Yet all will depend on the success with which the two things, the objective account and the judgments passed on the merit or demerit of the various matters which make it up, are kept distinct, and prevented from intruding into each other's province. Professor Flint has strenuously striven to preserve the impartiality of the historian, although he pronounces on the worth of each man's work that comes within his view, and he will be allowed to have succeeded in this to a rare degree. His pages on men like Rousseau, Voltaire, Comte, and Renouvier are a witness to this.

Of far greater importance is it, however, to see what idea Professor Flint has of *History*, and what conception, consequently, he takes of the task to which he sets himself. He notices the ambiguity which is so apt to arise from the double sense given to the term *history*, as expressing at once a form of literature and an order of facts. But he notices it only to say of it that there are advantages in the use of the one term for these two distinct things, and that these advantages more than counterbalance the dangers of ambiguity. He has a habit, indeed, of finding something desirable in the undesirable, and some compensation in acknowledged

awkwardnesses. His purpose, however, being neither to give a History of history nor to attempt a Historic, the term *history* has for him the second sense, and the question is, With what breadth of meaning does he take it? He speaks of it as covering "all that man has suffered, thought, and executed—the entire life of humanity—the whole movement of societies." Many definitions of History have been constructed—some wider than this, some more precise. In defending his own view Professor Flint states and criticises several of the more notable conceptions of History which have taken a different form. His remarks on these are acute and interesting. He has the faculty of putting his hand quickly and convincingly upon their vulnerable points. Some of them, indeed, are easy to dispose of. The definition given, for example, by the Dictionary of the French Academy is at once rejected as "narrow and superficial," and rightly so. For if History is simply "*le récit des choses dignes des mémoires*," it has no room for the small and the commonplace, which yet make the bulk of man's life and of the movement of society. M. Bourdeau's view of it as "*la science des développements de la raison*," and Professor Bernheim's that it is "the science of the development of men in their working as social beings," are also justly set aside as too "limited"; the former because, though it has the merit of fixing on the main thing in human history, it overlooks the operation of other things beside reason; the latter because its terms themselves require explanation. It is different, however, with the definitions offered by three distinguished Englishmen, Dr Arnold, Mr Freeman, and Bishop Creighton. Professor Flint joins in the general commendation of Arnold's definition of History as "the biography of a society," but objects to it at the same time on the ground that biography is not necessarily a "more general notion than history." Mr Freeman's sentence, "history is past politics, and politics are present history," is held to give a view of it which is both illogical and arbitrary. The *via media* between the restrictions of Mr Freeman's description and more general definitions, such as that adopted in the present volume, is taken by Bishop Creighton, who regards History as "the record of human action, and of thought only in its direct influence upon action." But Professor Flint, with some reason, asks why the development of human thought should be supposed to be intelligible apart from that of action or the development of human action apart from that of thought. There is force, it must be admitted, in his criticisms of these counter-definitions. His own way of expressing it has the advantage of breadth, if it lacks the note of perfect precision. And as things stand, he is probably right in not only not attempting anything more exact, but in thinking that to make such attempt would be useless and misleading.

Is History then, as thus understood, to be regarded as a Science or as a Philosophy? Here again Professor Flint takes ground of his own, and gives good reason for so doing. In the first place, he strongly asserts the right of History to rank as a Science, and his book contains nothing better than its statements on this subject. They are concise, but admirably clear and determinate. The contentions of men like Goldwin Smith, who regard History as a Philosophy, but not as a Science, and of those numerous writers in whose view mathematical and physical studies alone are entitled to the dignity of sciences, are decisively repudiated. In our author's view, of all the ways "in which it has been proposed to draw a rigid line of separation between science and philosophy, this of treating all physical studies as sciences, and all mental studies as philosophy, is probably the worst." We are entirely at one with him in his attitude on this question, and in the reasoning by which he justifies it. Why should it be said that mental phenomena are outside the reign of law, and that history, because it deals largely with such phenomena, is no science? Why should it be assumed that the *connection* of phenomena is one thing in the physical world and another in the intellectual? Why should it be asserted that there is no such thing as causation in the latter, or that, if causation can be predicated of it in any sense, it must be in another sense than holds good for the former. The genius of one great system of theology at least is on the other side. It would be interesting to have Professor Flint's views of Calvinism in this connection. He points out how "historical connection is often as strictly causal as chemical or biological connection"; and he makes the pertinent remark that "intelligent defenders of free agency do not oppose it to causation, but represent it as the highest type of causation." This is really the quick of the problem. Once grant that causation is not operative in the region of will, and the whole world of mental phenomena passes out of the sphere of law, and history ceases to be a science. But it is not necessary to make this concession in order to vindicate man's free will and responsibility, and to speak of results as uncaused, or but partially caused in the mental world, is to surrender the idea of the life of mankind as a movement of reason, certainty, and order, not of the fortuitous or capricious. "The notion," says Professor Flint, not too strongly, "that historical results are connected with their antecedents, yet uncaused or only partially caused events, is almost too unreasonable for discussion. Results or events not fully caused are no more conceivable in the moral and social world, than in the mechanical and physical world."

But while thus vindicating with the utmost energy the right to speak of history as a science, he dissents from those who would

dispense with its claim to the name of a philosophy. A true science, he holds, can no more be separated from philosophy than a genuine philosophy can be dissociated from science. In the case of history the only way of distinguishing between the science and the philosophy which he sees to be valid, is to regard the former as conversant with "the course, plan, and laws of history itself," and the latter as occupied with "the relations of causation and affinity which connect history with other departments of existence and knowledge." But these two things appear to him to be so akin to each other that the need or propriety of taking the one apart from the other can very seldom arise. He prefers, therefore, to speak at once of the *science* and the *philosophy* of history. In this, too, he seems to us to be right, for if history is admitted to have laws of its own, there must surely be a science to seek these out and exhibit them; and if it does not stand absolutely apart, there must be a philosophy to unfold its relations to other things, and define its position in the system of the universe.

This, then, is the conception of History with which Professor Flint takes up his task. It is a large, scientific conception, which makes History co-extensive with the entire life of mankind, and interprets it as a movement ruled by law, standing in relation to the entire system of things, and embracing in it all that goes to make man's life and progress—the small as well as the great, the social, political, and industrial, as well as the mental, moral, and spiritual.

With masterly hand he describes how the leaders of thought have striven, from age to age, to interpret the life of humanity, with what different eyes they have looked upon the story of mankind, how small were the beginnings of a constructive view of it, how limited the first ideas which were formed of the study which is now named the science or the philosophy of history, how impossible it was for the pre-Christian world to rise to any adequate conception of it, how vast was the influence exerted on it by the entrance of Christianity with its new ideas, how circumscribed even the Christian conception of it was at the first and for long centuries, and how slowly it has come to be recognised that the story of industrial, political, and economical effort and action are essential elements of the problem.

Among the best things in the Introduction we should rank the discussions of the great ideas of *progress*, *unity*, and *freedom*. The connection of these ideas with the advance of history towards a scientific stage, partly as its cause, partly as its consequence, is most lucidly stated; while the growth of these ideas themselves, and the forms which they took, or failed to take, in the civilisations of the old world, the speculations of the old philosophies, and the various

stages of Christian belief and practice, are traced with skilful touch. Sometimes the condensation which has to be cultivated in the execution of so large a project leaves us in some doubt whether we can wholly assent to Professor Flint's readings of particular parts of his vast subject. When he speaks, for example, of the religion of Israel as in its very nature a "religion of the future, a religion of life," and yet adds that there is "no evidence of the ancient Jews having attained to a conscious apprehension of the idea of progress," and that there is "no distinct enunciation of that idea in the Old Testament," we should like to see how he adjusts this to the Old Testament conception of the Kingdom of God. But his generalisations seldom lack solid and obvious ground.

The book rescues many a name from undeserved oblivion, and sets many more in a new light. What is said of Ibn Khaldun will give a fresh interest to all that can be learned of a great Mohammedan genius. Ample justice, we rejoice to see, is done to men like Cousin and Guizot, who have been thrust too much into the background of late. The appreciations of classical writers like Herodotus, Sallust, Thucydides, Polybius; of men of older Christian times, like Augustine, Bede, Matthew Paris, Roger Bacon; of modern authorities, like De Tocqueville, Quinet, and Sainte Beuve, will be valued by all, and most by those who know these writers best.

But it is impossible to do more than indicate in this rough way the quality and tenor of a book which is so crowded with things of unusual worth. If Professor Flint completes the project which he has so nobly begun, as we trust he may be able to do, he will enrich the literature of his country by one of the best contributions which have been made to it in our century.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Versuch einer Reconstellation des Deborahlieds.

Von Carl Niebuhr. Berlin: Nauck, 1894. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 48. M. 1.50.

HERR CARL NIEBUHR's *brochure* is probably unique among recent contributions to Old Testament criticism. Germany, at least—the fountainhead of many a startling theory—has produced nothing more extravagant in the way of literary and historical criticism than this attempted "Reconstellation" of the Song of Deborah. In its present form it cannot *on account of the Aramaisms* it contains be older than the half century preceding the fall of Samaria (p. 9). But in the interval between this date and its original composition,

the Song has become so mangled as to be almost unrecognisable. Thus, if we would know how the Song began, we have a choice "between verses 2, 3, 4, 6, and 12!" Of these, in Herr Niebuhr's opinion, the first is last, and the last first; in other words, we must begin with v. 12. But his arbitrary re-arrangement of the verses is less startling than the new setting he gives to the original Song. In the first place, Deborah, "the mother in Israel," is no woman, prophetess or other, but the city Dabareh of Joshua xxi. 28, which had placed itself at the head of coalition of the neighbouring cities and tribes. In the second place, Sisera is an Egyptian prince, Sesu-Ra, "the last descendant in the female line" of the famous Khuenaten, the heretic king of the eighteenth dynasty! Of course in that case the Song is quite wrong in making Sisera flee northwards; he must have set his face Egyptwards, and in accordance therewith the home of Jael must be sought in the Negeb. And so on and so on. If the text does not suit the theory, so much the worse for the text, or as the author naïvely remarks in his characteristic *Vorwort*, "And thus the possibly unscientific way out of the difficulty had to be adopted of altering the shoe where it did not fit the foot"! As may be inferred even from his title, our author possesses a style and vocabulary of his own which does not conduce to the lucidity of his argument.

ARCH. R. S. KENNEDY.

Die falschmünzerische Theologie Albrecht Ritschls und die christliche Wahrheit. Allen Christgläubigen gewidmet durch Johannes Claravellensis.

Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann. 8vo, pp. 200. Price, M. 2.40.

Zur Symbolfrage. Zwei Abhandlungen von D. E. Ohr. Achelis, ord. Prof. d. Theol. an d. Universität Marburg.

Berlin: H. Reuther. 8vo, pp. 88. Price, M. 1.

Eine Antwort auf des Herrn Prof. Dr Adolf Harnack "Apostolisches Glaubensbekenntniss," von G. Fr. Chr. Bauerfeind.

Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. 8vo, pp. 28. Price, Pf. 60.

THE pamphlets above named are all contributions to controversies arising out of the Ritschlian movement in Germany.

The first of the three, on *The Spurious Theology of A. Ritschl and Christian Truth*, is a strongly-worded attack on Ritschl's own theology, in which the writer sees a true "poison-tree" on German

soil, and work of the "serpent," the "base-coinage" of which (the author's metaphors are rather mixed) he sets himself to expose. The standpoint is that of strict orthodoxy. The headings are:—I. Ritschl and Religion in General; II. Ritschl and Theology; III. Ritschl and Holy Scripture; IV. God and His Kingdom; V. Reconciliation, Justification, and Sanctification; VI. Church, Pietism, and Mysticism. As the author's method leads him to extract and quote the leading passages in Ritschl's writings on all these topics, and this is done with considerable method and completeness, the pamphlet may be found useful by many who do not agree with its criticisms.

The other two pamphlets arise out of the controversy on the "Apostolicum" at present being waged in Germany as the outcome of the decision in the "case of Schrempf"—a young pastor deposed for his inability to continue the use of this symbol (the Apostle's Creed) in the offices of the Church. That by Achelis, colleague of Herrmann at Marburg, on *The Question of the Symbols*, consists of two papers, one on the nature of the obligation of the symbols, and the other on the worth of the "Apostolicum" in the usage of the Church. While apparently fairly orthodox in personal conviction, Achelis sides in the main with the Ritschlians in their view of the use of the symbols. He rejects the "juristic" and what he calls the "Biblical" view of the obligation of the creeds—meaning by the latter their authority in so far as they agree with Scripture. For this still leaves it undetermined what is Scriptural and what is not. There remains only the kind of obligation which answers to the idea of "evangelical faith" (p. 30). He tells a story out of one of Spurgeon's sermons of a shepherd boy who was received to communion on the ground of his simple confession: "I know only that I am a sinner, and that the Lord Jesus has saved me." He would have all articles in symbols tested by relation to this simple confession of faith. On this account he would leave such articles as that of the miraculous conception open questions. He rather weakens his position, however, by declaring his own conviction that the miraculous conception is an indispensable presupposition of the sinlessness of Christ (p. 33). The second paper is on the same lines, and was called forth by a semi-official declaration in a Church organ that the miraculous conception "is the foundation of Christianity; the corner-stone on which all wisdom of this world is shattered." Against this Achelis protests, and discusses the general question of the worth of the "Apostolicum," which he regards as in no proper sense a confession of evangelical faith, but which he would retain in the use of the Church for the sake of what the believing people (with Luther's aid) have learned from their own faith to put into it.

The remaining pamphlet is *An Answer to Professor Harnack on the Apostle's Creed*, by an aged superintendent—eighty years old—who, not without learning and ability, traverses Harnack's contentions as to the history of the Apostolic symbol, and endeavours to vindicate its substantial Apostolic origin.

JAMES ORR.

Original Notes on the Book of Proverbs, mostly from Eastern Writings.

By the Rev. S. C. Malan, D.D., late Vicar of Broadwindsor, Dorset.
Vol. iii., chaps. xxi.-xxxi. London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo,
603 pages. 12s.

THIS goodly volume completes a work which anew bears witness to the untiring industry and varied learning of its accomplished author, who here presents his readers with the results of labour lovingly bestowed on a worthy object during many years. The wealth of interesting material here collected and arranged is marvellous, and the work as a whole has been executed in a most praiseworthy fashion.

The plan of the book is simple. The common English translation ("Authorised Version") is taken as the basis of arrangement; but brief philological remarks regarding the Hebrew original and the older versions are usually made, when such notes may be required, regarding any word or expression in the verse or group of verses on which the succeeding comments are founded. These linguistic notes perhaps form the weakest portion of the whole, and are inferior in accuracy to those found in the better class of commentaries accessible even to English readers. But the main body of the work is composed of the material gathered from many sources and placed in the order determined by the subject-matter of the different verses. It is rather misleading, however, to call these illustrations of the Scriptures "original," inasmuch as the ordinary acceptation of this term surely warrants us to expect remarks by the author himself—independent observations on the subject-matter before him, expressed in language of his own. What we do receive instead is really a catena of parallels drawn from sacred books of the East, and from other literary monuments which, though not usually regarded as specially sacred, yet record the utterances of oriental sages regarding the same matters as are presented in our canonical Book of Proverbs; these gnomic sentences are derived from Chinese, Japanese, Arabic, Persian, Greek, Egyptian, and many other writers. All are presented in English dress; the Greek parallels, however, are also given in

their original garb. The collection thus formed is not merely interesting, but highly instructive and most stimulating.

Unintentionally, perhaps, but actually, this work forms an excellent contribution to the study of "comparative religion;" for the reader is here enabled to compare and contrast the choicest observations made by other Oriental sages with the sacred wisdom of the Hebrews. But as Christianity suffers nothing when compared with other religious systems, so the Book of Hebrew Scripture with which similar productions of other nations are here compared will be found distinctly and decidedly superior. Not to speak of the simple but surpassing grandeur of the Hebrew Proverbs distinctively religious, those on a somewhat lower plane, dealing with ordinary human conduct, display a dignity, terseness, and force which favourably contrast with the diffuseness—to say the least—that not unfrequently marks even the best utterances of the wise among other nations.

A good index of subjects would greatly enhance the usefulness of this valuable work.

JAMES KENNEDY.

Notices.

THE preparation of the volume on *The English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, the joint production of Messrs Abbey and Overton, naturally led to investigations which went beyond the period in question. The outcome of these researches is a volume by Canon Overton on *The English Church in the Nineteenth Century*,¹ which will add considerably to our knowledge of the ecclesiastical condition at the beginning of our era. The period dealt with has the peculiar interest which belongs to a time of transition. The close of the previous century saw things at their lowest in the National Church. The opening of the present century marked the turn of the tide. The fact was scarce observable at first, and it took years to make itself visible and felt. But the new life which began to stir in other departments of English social existence in the train of the French Revolution, touched and vivified the Church also, and did it more deeply and more extensively than is sometimes allowed. Canon Overton shows how the change to better things set in, how it progressed, and what shapes it took in different sections of the Church. He begins with a review of the state of the Church generally at the commencement of the century; he next takes up in succession the "Orthodox," the "Evangelicals," and the "Liberals"; and he then

¹ *The English Church in the Nineteenth Century (1800-1833)*. By John H. Overton, D.D., Canon of Lincoln, &c. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 8vo, pp. 350. Price 14s.

proceeds to show how it stood with the Services and Fabrics of the Church, with Literature and Education, with the Church Societies, with the relations of Church and State, and finally with the question of Intercourse with other Churches. The inquiry is practically confined to the Church established by law, and it is, therefore, far from giving a complete picture of the condition of religion in the England of those years. But within these limits the book is not only rich in matter but wonderfully impartial in its estimates of men and parties. The sketches of men like Hugh James Rose, Christopher Wordsworth, John Venn, W. Wilberforce, William Paley, and others of different schools, are done with manifest fairness as well as with ample knowledge. There is perhaps a tendency to underrate the influence of the Liberal School. But Whately and Arnold are appreciated, and justice is done to the more serious side of Sydney Smith. The volume is of value for the view which it gives us of the circumstances that led to the Oxford Movement. It is of even greater value for the proof which it furnishes that, low as the condition of things was in the English Church at the beginning of the century, it was not so low as it has sometimes been painted.

The volume on *The Theology of the New Testament*¹ makes a valuable addition to the *Theological Educator* series. The matter is dealt with in two great divisions, *The Teaching of Jesus* and *The Theology of the Apostles*, with subdivisions. There are some points to which exception may be taken, particularly the exposition of the doctrine of the Last Things. Both Christ's teaching and Paul's on the Resurrection and Eternal Life, when they are taken in their due relation to the Old Testament conceptions of *life* and *death*, mean more than is made of them here. But the book throughout is an exceedingly lucid, compact, and informing summary, interestingly written, and sure to be of great use to the student. It is one of the very best volumes of the series to which it belongs, its statement of our Lord's teaching on the *Kingdom of God* and His own *Person*, the account which it gives of Paul's doctrine of *Redemption*, and its whole treatment of the *Johannine Type*, are especially good. But in point of fact, the volume, as a whole, is remarkable for the amount of carefully-studied and tersely-put matter which is packed into it.

The late Prebendary Scrivener's edition of the Greek New Testament,² prepared for the Syndics of the Cambridge University

¹ By Walter F. Adeney, M.A., Professor of New Testament Introduction, History, and Exegesis, New College, London. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Fcap. 8vo, pp. vii. 248. Price 2s. 6d.

² The New Testament in the Original Greek, according to the Text followed in the Authorised Version, together with the Variations adopted in the Revised Version. New Edition. Cambridge, at the University Press. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. 658. Price 4s. 6d.

Press, appears in a new form. The changes are few. Spaced type, however, is used instead of thicker type, to indicate readings which were not adopted by the Revisers. The printing, and the whole form of the book, are all that could be desired, and will secure for it a new career of usefulness and acceptance.

Under the title of *Our Christian Passover*,¹ the Rev. C. A. Salmond publishes a Bible-Class Primer on the Lord's Supper. It is intended to be a "guide for young people in the serious study" of the subject. In a style well adapted to the object in view, it expounds the ordinance in its origin and interest, its sacramental meaning, its uses, and its names. It gives, at the same time, some direct and useful counsels on what should be in the communicant's view before, during, and after the act of communion.

The Hebrew Twins, a Vindication of God's Ways with Jacob and Esau,² is the title given to a volume by the late Samuel Cox. The fourteen discourses in which the main incidents in these two lives are expounded have all the qualities by which the departed author made himself so favourably known. The volume is enriched by a Prefatory Memoir by his wife, which gives us an attractive picture of a good man who triumphed over difficulties which might have discouraged him, and struck out a field of usefulness for himself which won him a high place among the religious writers of his day.

The new series of translations projected by Messrs Williams and Norgate begins well with Weizsäcker's *Apostolic Age*.³ The form of the volume is handsome, and in every way a great advance on what the former series offered. The book itself which opens the new venture is of great interest, and the work of the translator has been done in a most satisfactory way. Than Weizsäcker there is no better representative of the second form of the Tübingen criticism. He has the advantage of the happy gift of a clear and pointed style, and he gives as persuasive a view of the Tübingen construction of primitive Christianity as is anywhere to be had. He is also thoroughly candid. The influence of Baur is strong upon him, but he goes his own way in many things. So he recognises Philipians and 1 Thessalonians as Pauline, and Colossians and Philemon as having claims in the same direction. He gives also a greatly mitigated view of the differences in the primitive Church. He is best, perhaps, in his exposition of the Theology of the Pauline

¹ Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. 94. Price 6d.

² London: T. Fisher Unwin. Cr. 8vo, pp. xl. 259. Price 6s.

³ *The Apostolic Age of the Christian Church*. By Carl von Weizsäcker, Professor of Church History in the University of Tübingen. Translated from the second and revised edition, by James Millar, B.D. Vol. I. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. x. 405. Price 10s. 6d. (Subscription Price, 21s. for three volumes.)

writings. But his general view of early Christianity is dominated by the presuppositions of his master, and is in principle open to the objections which have told so heavily against many of Baur's contentions. He is vulnerable also in many particular points—his distrust of the Book of Acts among others. Yet his book has deservedly made its mark, and contains much that is just and instructive.

In committing the *Epistle to the Romans* to Principal Moule,¹ the editor of the *Expositor's Bible* has put it into competent and appreciative hands. Mr Moule knows the great Epistle as only one can know it who is entirely in sympathy with its doctrine. The Pauline teaching on the whole subject of human sin and Divine grace is expounded here, therefore, in all its breadth and depth. A translation is given, which is often very helpful by taking us out of the accustomed form of words, and due regard is had, as far as the limits of the book allow, to the niceties of New Testament Greek. But the strength of the volume is wisely given to exhibiting the broad truths on which the Apostle expends the force and fire of his reasoning, and which have formed the pith and marrow of the theology of the Reformation. The author is seen at his best when he deals with the sections in which the problems of Divine grace, in justifying and sanctifying, are more immediately in view. The book is a worthy addition to the long list of expositions of this loftiest of the Pauline Epistles.

By his volume on the *Epistles of St Peter*,² Professor J. Rawson Lumby makes another valuable contribution to the same series. The preface discusses briefly the literary questions connected with these Epistles, their historical attestation, and their internal characteristics. As to the Second Epistle, Professor Lumby expresses himself as not unwilling to believe that the doubts which the early Church entertained about its genuineness had been removed before it got a place among the other New Testament writings, and that these doubts would also be "cleared away for us could we hear all the evidence tendered before those who fixed the contents of the Canon." He notices also how a study of the recently discovered fragments of the *Gospel* and the *Apocalypse of Peter* tends to mark the Second Epistle as by contrast not unworthy of its place in the Canon. The exposition of the two Epistles is characterised throughout by insight into the thought of the writings and into the character of the reputed writer. The acknowledged difficulties in the exegesis are carefully considered. The paragraphs most disputed, those

¹ The Epistle of St Paul to the Romans. By Handley C. G. Moule, M.A., Principal of Ridley Hall, Cambridge. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. 437. Price 7s. 6d.

² London, Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. xix. 374. Price 7s. 6d.

especially on the preaching to the *spirits in prison* and the *Gospel to the dead*, are handled with commendable caution and self-restraint.

Dr Alexander Whyte issues a second Series of Lectures on Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*,¹ which will be no less valued than the first. They have the same strong qualities of insight into all varieties of character, terse and often pungent expression, and the preacher's gift of bringing all home to the life and conscience of men and women of the present day. The pictures of Ignorance, the Flatterer, Mrs Timorous, and Mr Brisk, and Madam Bubble, not to speak of others, are drawn with great force. The better and sweeter characters, Great-heart himself, Old Honest, Standfast, Gaius, Mercy, are handled with admirable appreciation. The closing chapters on the Enchanted Ground, the Land of Beulah, and the Swelling of Jordan, are among the richest in a volume which is altogether racy in style, varied in its contents, and pointed in its applications of the great Dreamer's fancies to the church-goers of our own day.

In publishing in 1882 a separate edition of Athanasius's treatise *De Incarnatione*, Principal Robertson of Bishop Hatfield's Hall, Durham, did a real service to students. This he followed up with an excellent translation in 1884, a second edition of which appeared in 1891. We have now a second edition of the Greek,² which differs from the former in giving up Montfaucon's text, which has hitherto been current, and adopting that of the best available manuscript, that known as the Codex Seguerianus. The book is most carefully prepared, and should be of much use to students of theology.

Canon Scott Holland's *God's City and the Coming of the Kingdom*³ will take high rank among recent volumes of Sermons. The theme is the Church of God as the subject around which, in the Canon's opinion, all religious discussions at present tend to turn. "Individualistic forms of belief have become impossible," he thinks, and the socialistic forces which are at work point more and more to a corporate Christian society. So he discourses on the Invisible City, the Visible City, the Worship of the City, the Life in the City, the Methods of the Kingdom's Growth, and the Story of the Kingdom's Coming. All is done with the power of strong conviction. A very high doctrine of the Church is advocated. The Christian Faith, it is asserted, is never contemplated by the Scriptures as "existing in

¹ Bunyan Characters. Lectures delivered in St George's Free Church, Edinburgh, by Alexander Whyte, D.D. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 307. Price 2s. 6d.

² St Athanasius on The Incarnation. The Greek Text edited for the use of Students. By Archibald Robertson, &c. London: David Nutt. 8vo, pp. xiii. 89. Price 3s.

³ London: Longmans. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvii. 342. Price 7s. 6d.

any other form than that of an organized society." But the book will be appreciated not only by those who agree with the author in his views of the Church, but by many who think differently on that subject; and the Society which Canon Scott Holland has in view seems to be one with the Catholic Priesthood, its Liturgy, its Sacraments, the Apostolic Succession, and the like. But the book has qualities which will make it appreciated even by those who think differently on these subjects.

The Archbishop of Canterbury publishes a number of Addresses delivered in the course of the third visitation of his diocese.¹ They deal with such practical matters as Church Legislation, Temperance, Patronage, Parish Councils, Education, as well as the larger questions of the Social Movement, the Critical Movement, Unreligious Philanthropy. On these things he gives much good counsel. The last of these Addresses speaks impressively of what the Church requires in Quietness, Orderliness, and Sincerity, in order that she may give the help which is demanded of her in solving the problems of the day. A volume of a somewhat different order comes from the Rector of the Church of the Epiphany in Washington.² It contains a series of Lectures in defence and explanation of the Christian Faith. It is written in an unaffected style and a modest spirit. It aims at disentangling Apologetics from irrelevant issues, and after touching the Theistic Foundation directs itself to the citadel of the faith—the Person and Claims of Christ.

Under the title of "Presbyterianism as a form of Church Life and Work,"³ we have a lecture which was delivered by Principal Rainy in October last in St Columba's Church, Cambridge. Avoiding the polemical and even the argumentative spirit, it gives a large and temperate statement of the main ideas which intelligent Presbyterians associate with Presbyterianism as a system of organisation and government. The great principles of the system, which express themselves in the parity of ministers, the conciliar form of Church government, the recognition of the unity of the Church, the value of Church Order, are treated here in a broad and luminous way, which makes their own reasonableness their best commendation.

Mr Waddy Moss, Tutor in Classics in Didsbury College, contributes a volume on Jewish History to the excellent series of *Books for Bible Students*.⁴ The volume does not profess to give more than

¹ *Fishers of Men*. By Edward White, Archbishop. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 167. Price 6s.

² *Christ and Modern Unbelief*. By Randolph Harrison M'Kim. New York: Thomas Whittaker. Cr. 8vo, pp. iv. 146.

³ Cambridge: Macmillan & Bowes. 8vo, pp. 23. Price 6d.

⁴ *From Malachi to Matthew*. London: Charles H. Kelly. Small crown 8vo, pp. xiv. 256. Price 2s. 6d.

a sketch of the history of Judea for the period in question—namely, 440 to 4 B.C. But the sketch is distinct, informing, and attractive. One can gather from this small volume a very good view of the movement of things in Judea during the Persian supremacy, and in the times of Alexander, the Ptolemies, the Seleucidae, and the Maccabean leaders on to Herod the Great. Excellent pictures are given of Judas Maccabeus, Jonathan, Simon, and John Hyrcanus.

Mr Blake continues his most helpful Chronological Study of the Prophets¹ The present section, which is devoted to Ezekiel, is executed no less skilfully than the former divisions. It is an easier task, the amount of re-arrangement required to place these prophecies in the proper order of time being comparatively small. But all that is necessary is done with judgment and with adequate knowledge. After a brief introduction the text is given, and this is followed by the setting of the chapters in historical succession, by some instructive pages on the Religious Conceptions of Ezekiel, a Chronological Table, a Glossary, and abundant Indices.

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¹ How to read the Prophets. Being the Prophets arranged Chronologically in their historical setting, with Explanations and Glossary. By the Rev. Buchanan Blake, B.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. 238. Price 4s.

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The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man.

By Henry Drummond. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1894.
8vo, pp. 1-444. Price, 7s. 6d. net.

THE interest of the subject and the well-known literary power, moral earnestness, and intensity of religious conviction of the author, will secure for this work a large amount of attention, more especially among a class whose training is not strictly scientific. Mr Drummond, however, from the almost certain popularity of the book, runs the risk of being much misunderstood. One section of his readers will be startled by some of his statements, because they cannot reconcile them with orthodox beliefs; while another section, including the more thoughtless minds, will imagine that the whole problem of the origin of man has been finally solved. On the one hand, not only the author's aim but his real thoughts and opinions may be misinterpreted, and, on the other, more importance may be attached to the book than would be claimed for it even by the author himself. This state of matters arises from the fact that the book cannot be strictly regarded as a contribution either to biological science or to theology. It is rather a brilliant exposition of certain ideas regarding the evolution of man with which all who have been following the drift of thought in recent years are more or less familiar. Such ideas, however, have not yet permeated the general mass of readers, more especially those of a theological turn of mind: to them the book will come with all the freshness of novelty, and on their minds it cannot fail to exercise an effect for good or evil.

The origin of man, from the time of Lamarck, has been a subject of intense speculative interest, although, no doubt, one may date the scientific existence of the development theory from the publication of Darwin's "Descent of Man" in 1871; at all events, it was this work that brought the subject in a straightforward manner before men of science. Since that time much has been written on the subject; and man as regards physical structure, mind, morals, language, sexual instincts, and social habits has been studied in the light of the theory of evolution. Professor Drummond is evidently well acquainted with the literature of the subject, as is shown by the apt quotations from authorities which he weaves into his argument, although we think that he sometimes is too credulous, and accepts as authenticated statements of fact much that is after all matter of opinion. Before we go further, it is only fair to express our admiration of the fearless way in which Professor Drummond accepts the doctrine of evolution and attempts to apply it to the solution of all

problems. No half-acceptance will satisfy him. It must be applied to the explanation of the rise of mind, of morals, and even of religion, and not to the evolution of man's body only. One law must run through the universe ; evolution must be the one supreme explanation. It is unphilosophical to imagine gaps in the order of things, gaps at which a supernatural interference took place. The story is one of continuity, of progress from lower to higher forms, and of transitions from lower to higher states. Evolution, however, according to Professor Drummond, is the mode of God's working ; it is the gradual unfolding of the Divine Plan as regards all things, physical, mental, moral, social, religious. This way of looking at the matter will not commend itself to many thorough-going evolutionists. There can be no doubt that a mechanical view of evolution is the one generally held, and that all the wondrous changes happening in the universe are regarded as the result of mechanical laws, working without purpose, which have their seat in the distribution of energy and the power and potency of matter.

There are three classes of thinkers who maintain very different attitudes to the theory of evolution as applied to the origin of man. First, a large and increasing number of men of science who accept the theory of evolution as the only adequate explanation, and who take refuge in agnosticism as regards all religious beliefs that are contrary to what they think the theory of evolution demands. Second, many scientific men, psychologists, and theologians who regard the theory as still on its trial, more especially as regards its application to the mental and moral development of man, but who, at the same time, consider that there is a strong presumption in its favour. These wisely suspend judgment on many questions, and thus they are able to maintain their religious beliefs with comparative equanimity. Lastly, there is a third class who view the theory of evolution with apprehension, partly because they fear it may be true, and partly because they think that if true it will destroy their faith. The first class will not accept Professor Drummond's attempt to engraft on the theory a supernatural element, and to give to the process the aspect of a Divine Plan. The book will not carry much weight with them because it is not new, so far as statement of fact is concerned, and they will look on it as another well-meant attempt to square things that cannot be squared. The last class will be alarmed at finding the teacher in a Theological College giving expression to views that they will deem opposed to their cherished convictions. The second class, however, will, in an unbiassed spirit, test both the statements of fact and the conclusions advanced in a book that has been written with so much perspicacity, enthusiasm, and devotion to an ideal.

In chapter i. there is an excellent account of the *Ascent of the Body*

as revealed by the study of embryology. We take exception, however, to the statement on p. 79 that the ova of different animals are practically identical. The dog, the elephant, the lion, the ape, do not begin in a house the same as man's. Certainly the highest microscopic powers can observe no marked distinction, although recently progress has been made in this direction, and we may be assured that physical differences exist. The future Being potentially is in the ovum, and small as the latter is, there is room enough for particles of matter that would in the one case build up a man and in the other a monkey. The story of the evolution of the embryo is told in admirable language.

Chapter ii., under the title of *The Scaffolding left in the Body*, gives a good statement of the argument from the occurrence in the body of vestigial organs that are not only of no use but of actual danger. These can only be explained by supposing that they represent organs that existed in remote ancestors. It is more dangerous to reason as to habits supposed to be derived from progenitors. Thus because, as Dr Louis Robinson found, a newly-born child hangs on to a stick with its little hands, it is hardly safe to assume that this is a habit derived from an arboreal relation who found his way among trees in the olden time. This clutching of a stick is simply a strong reflex action, easily excited in a child before its cerebral hemispheres have assumed that restraining function over lower centres that is called inhibitory. In early life the lower centres are less under control and are more easily excited, so that a newly-born child behaves something like a decapitated frog, and a physiological explanation is possible without reference to the arboreal personage.

Professor Drummond is almost too anxious to disown relationship with any existing ape, and, like Mr Darwin himself, in the *Descent*, he carefully warns us against such a view. No doubt the warning is needed; but for our part we would rather be related to some of the Simians we have seen than to a gruesome creature presumed to have existed in a primeval forest, the progenitor of both man and ape! It is remarkable also that not a vestige of this wild monkey-man has yet been discovered.

The Arrest of the Body is treated in chapter iii. By this is meant that evolution has not made a better body than we find in man. This is generally true, and yet it is a statement that requires qualification. The body of man, as a whole, is not the most finished mechanism one can conceive, nor even the best that evolution could possibly produce. Apart from brain, the most finished body, considered as a mechanism, belongs perhaps to the felines. It may also be urged that no eye is optically perfect. Similar examples might be given. It is possible to conceive that the process of evolution might still improve on the body of man. This is

especially the case with the intricate structure of the brain, as admirably pointed out by Professor Drummond himself on p. 366. Professor Drummond makes an excellent point by showing that organic evolution is arrested when the mind teaches man how to increase his powers by mechanical or optical contrivances. This, however, presupposes mind, and some may object to bringing mental operations into the category of processes of evolution, especially when biological processes are under consideration. "The Mind discovered better methods, safer measures, shorter cuts. So the body learned to refer to it, then to defer to it." Quite true; but, then, whence came the mind? "Nature is full of new departures; but never since time began was there anything approaching in importance that period when the slumbering animal brain broke into intelligence, and the creature felt that it had a mind," p. 148. What a difficult question is suggested by these words! How unthinkable is the proposition that the "slumbering animal brain broke into intelligence"! Professor Drummond cuts this knot with a hatchet. He gives no explanation, because probably he felt that no explanation is possible. Still it is one of his points. Mind has dawned, and "once it was a physical universe, now it is a psychical universe." One is inclined to say that here there is some confusion of language. A psychical universe could only exist in a mind, but the physical universe, the counterpart, the other side of the shield, still existed.

In chapter iv. Professor Drummond discusses the *Origin of Mind*. His notion seems to be that in some mysterious manner the elements of a future Mind were associated with animal matter, and that at last the animal became self-conscious. At the same time, he guards himself against the materialistic view that mind is the outcome of operations occurring in matter. Thus: "Instinct is linked with matter, but it is not therefore material; intellect with animal matter, but it is not therefore animal." The real question, however, is whether the human mind has arisen by any kind of genesis from the minds of the quadrumana, or rather from the animal that was the precursor of both man and the ape. It is well known that Mr Darwin answered this question in the affirmative, while Mr Wallace held the opposite view. Professor Drummond endeavours to minimise the weight of Mr Wallace's authority by stating that Mr Wallace only meant that the evolution of mind could not be accounted for by the action of the law of natural selection. We think Mr Wallace meant more than this, or, at all events, when he asserted that the mental faculties of man could not have been derived "from their rudiments in the lower animals, in the same manner and by the action of the same general laws as his physical structure has been derived," he practically admitted

that evolution could not alone account for the origin of mind. Professor Drummond himself evidently feels that he is here on dangerous ground, as shown by the sentence, "Should anyone feel it necessary either to his own view of Man or of the Universe to hold that a great gulf lies here, it is open to him to cling to his belief." The illustration he uses is not cogent, as few naturalists would admit that the *Mimosa* (sensitive plant) possesses sensation. Mere movement is no proof of the psychological condition termed a sensation. A sensation can only be a psychological condition, and to call a phenomenon which may be accounted for physically a sensation is inadmissible. We therefore demur to the sentence, "Man, in the last resort, has self-consciousness, *Mimosa* sensation; and the difference is qualitative as well as quantitative." The evidence adduced from the writings of George J. Romanes (whose loss we all now deplore) regarding the correspondence as to order in the evolution of the emotions in the animal series and in the development of the same emotions in a child, has always seemed to us to be untrustworthy, because of the great difficulty in the interpretation of the motor phenomena accompanying these emotions. How easy, for example, is it to make mistakes in interpreting the movements of a fish to mean jealousy, or of a bird to mean sympathy, and how impossible to refer to emotional states the movements of a child of three weeks old, especially if we are interested in the animals or in the child. Unintentionally, we interpret the movements by reading our own thoughts or emotional states into the creatures we happen to be watching. Mr Romanes was an excellent observer, but his work in the direction indicated was tentative, and it is hazardous to treat these observations as if they were on a par with the facts of comparative anatomy.

Professor Drummond's summary of the *Ethnological Evidence* is well worthy of perusal, and nowhere have we seen the main generalisations given with such clearness. The same remark may be made regarding chapter v., which treats of the *Evolution of Language*, although, of course, well-known objections may be urged against the "bow-wow" theory which Professor Drummond favours. Towards the close of the chapter Professor Drummond shows again his favourite tendency of tracing what he believes to be continuity. Language began with gestures, then came articulate sounds, then words and sentences; then man invented the art of shortly expressing the names of things and sounds by writing in its various degrees of development; then came the telegraph; then the telephone; and now man is striving after expression of thought by telepathic communications! We wish, for the sake of science, that he had omitted the latter imaginary mode of inter-communication, but possibly our objection may be attributed to prejudice! Near

the close of the chapter there is the following striking passage, that reveals Professor Drummond's ideal :—" If Evolution reveals anything, if science itself proves anything, it is that Man is a spiritual being, and that the direction of his long career is towards an ever larger, richer, and more exalted life. In the final problem of Man's being, the voice of science is supposed to be dumb. But this gradual perfecting of instruments, and, as each arrives, the further revelation of what lies behind in Nature, this gradual refining of the mind, this increasing triumph over matter, this deeper knowledge, this efflorescence of the soul, are facts which even science must reckon with. Perhaps, after all, Victor Hugo is right: 'I am the tadpole of an archangel.' "

Then comes a chapter on the *Struggle for Life*, in which Professor Drummond summarises the well-known facts on which this principle of evolution has been established. His amusing account of the origin of clubs, walking-sticks, spears, and weapons in general may be correct, but we doubt much if music had its origin in the twanging of the bows used by our ancestors in the chase. Professor Drummond has a good deal to say as to the character of the struggle, and, on the whole, he is inclined to regard it as not so awful as it looks. " With exceptions, the fight is a fair fight. As a rule there is no hate in it, but only Hunger. It is seldom prolonged, and seldom wanton. As to the manner of death, it is generally sudden. As to the fact of death, all animals must die. As to the meaning of an existence prematurely closed, it is better to be eaten than not to be at all. And, as to the last result, it is better to be eaten out of the world and, dying, help another to live, than pollute the world by lingering decay." This may be all quite true from our point of view, but it is rather hard on those who are eaten, certainly against their will, as shown by the desperate efforts they make to escape. It is not easy to see ethical purpose in all the savagery carried on among the lower orders of living things. How would a poor Indian hillman, mauled by a tiger, view the suggestion that it was better to be eaten than not to be at all? Would his altruism stand the test?

In the higher orders of life, however, and especially in the case of man, the struggle with the adverse conditions of the environment has undoubtedly developed many of the finer qualities, and, in this sense, the struggle, so far as the race is concerned, has been a victorious one. Man has risen above the mere physical struggle for existence; he does not always force the weakest to the wall; the survival of the fittest does not necessarily mean the survival of the strongest, nor even of the best, for, by the aid of sympathetic help, the weakest and sometimes the worst, or at all events those who are not of the best, may be fostered and cared for. Professor

Drummond considers this a phase of the evolutionary process : "in one era the race is to the swift, in another the meek shall inherit the earth. In a material world social survival depends on wealth, health, power ; in a moral world, the fittest are the weak, the pitiable, the poor" (p. 268).

Professor Drummond in the next chapter brings forward a principle which he thinks is one of the factors of evolution, *the Struggle for the Life of Others*. The enunciation of this principle is one of the chief features of his book ; it is advanced as the ethical outcome of the evolutionary process. He does not think that the law of selfishness is the one prevailing law of evolution, but that even in the lowest forms the organism, in the act of reproduction, however simple that act may be, does something, not for itself, but for its descendants. From this beginning, in the simplest form other-ism, in the higher forms what we call altruism, is gradually evolved, until the latter becomes the great moving force in the social evolution of the present day. Even love, not in a sexual but in a platonic sense, is thus the final product of the evolutionary process. This part of the book reads more like a poem, in which the author gives free play to his fancy in depicting his ideal than a chapter in sober science. One cannot help feeling that in not a few of the illustrations Professor Drummond reads into the phenomena of nature some of his own mental moods. It is difficult to realise the existence of self-sacrifice, or of co-operation, on the part of the organism, where as yet there is no mind or will, and it is easier to suppose that these instances of apparent sacrifice are after all for the good of the organism itself, habits that have been acquired by long continued processes of selection and survival of the fittest. We are far from saying that there are no ethical notions aroused by the contemplation of these processes, but these ethical notions exist in the mind of the observer, not in the process itself. Thus, when applied to the lower forms of life, the following sentence has not much significance from the point of view of the lower organisms :—" Association, combination, mutual help, fellowship, affection,—things on which all material and moral progress would ultimately turn,—were thus forced upon the world at the bayonet's point." If we think we can detect ethical principles in the construction and daily life of the organic world, surely these are but revelations of the Mind that makes and controls all these things, and are not the outcome of the physical processes in the things themselves. Professor Drummond no doubt holds that the ethical characters are somehow apart from the physical processes, but if there is a gradual merging of the latter into the former, it is difficult to see how they can be separate. The discussion of the ethical meaning of sex is admirable and full of suggestiveness ; but here

and there one detects a tendency to glide from one sphere of thought into another with which most thinkers would hold it had no connection. Thus: "With the creation of human children altruism found an area for its own expansion such as had never before existed in the world. In this new soil it grew from more to more, and reached a potentiality which enabled it to burst the trammels of *physical* condition and overflow the world as a *moral* force." The italics are ours. In the first place, altruism was forced upon an organism, then it became a habit, and lastly it is an ideal.

The next two chapters deal with the *Evolution of a Mother* and the *Evolution of a Father*, phrases that mean, in Professor Drummond's way of putting it, on the mother's side, the evolution of love, of home, of patience, carefulness, tenderness, sympathy, self-sacrifice, and on the father's, strength, courage, endurance, watchfulness, and all that makes a man. In the discussion of these themes, which is carried on in Professor Drummond's fascinating style, he appears to be dominated almost too much by the ethical ideas of motherhood and fatherhood to the exclusion of the potent influence of the sex relationships. Thus: "Love then is no necessary ingredient of the sex relation; it is not an outgrowth of passion. Love is love, and has always been love, and has never been anything lower." The first part of the sentence is true, but the converse is not true. Sex relation may exist without love, but love as between man and woman, even in the purest form, is related to those deep affinities that are prompted by sex relationships. There is a sexual basis for the love of the sexes if the love is intended to lead to domestic life.

The last chapter is termed *Involution*, and we think Professor Drummond must have found it by far the most difficult to write. Hitherto he has been with the evolutionists, working upwards, and he has reached evolution's highest development in man as an individual and in his social relations. Most evolutionists would stop at this point and not discuss how the transcendental comes into relationship with the real, and they would not feel called upon to hint that religion, and most of all Christianity, is only a part, probably the last part of the evolutionary process. The illustration of the *Sigillaria*—the fossil trunk found in the coal measures—and the *Stigmaria*—the roots of the same plant found in the clay beds underneath the coal strata—does not appear to us to be quite apt. No doubt *Sigillaria* does not come from *Stigmaria*, the stem does not come from the root, but both root and stem are parts of the same plant, and the root plays its part in aiding to nourish the stem and the leaves and the flowers. The leaves and the flowers did not come from the root, but in an important sense they depend upon it, and they are not to be regarded as something different. Now,

evolutionists say that mind, morals, men have evolved, but this evolution is not like the growing of things from a root. It is the expression of the historical sequence of a number of forms advancing according to the laws of variation (in the environment, Lamarck—accidental, Darwin—in the germ plasma, Weismann), natural selection and survival of the fittest. The relation of *Sigillaria* to *Stigmaria* therefore is not a true analogy.

As Professor Drummond urges, the environment is an important factor, but surely it is not the supreme factor in all development. It affords the conditions of development. "Produce an organism *in vacuo*, and the right is yours to say that the tree lies in the root, the flower in the bud, the man in the embryo, the social organism in the family of an anthropoid ape." But we would urge that potentially, the flower is in the bud and the man in the embryo. Environment (conditions such as supply of nutrient pabulum, moisture, heat, &c.) can only cause the evolution of what is already there. There are there always the two factors, that which is already in the egg and the conditions of hatching.

Again, there seems to be some confusion of thought in endeavouring to blend the physical with the spiritual. "The fact that the higher principles come from the same environment as those of the plant, nevertheless does not imply that they are the same as those which enter into the plant. In the plant they are physical, in Man spiritual. If anything is to be implied, it is not that the spiritual energies are physical, but that the physical energies are spiritual. To call the things in the physical world 'material' takes us no nearer the natural, no farther away from the spiritual. The roots of a tree may rise from what we call a physical world; the leaves may be bathed by physical atoms; even the energy of the tree may be solar energy, but the tree is *itself*. The tree is a thought, a unity, a rational purposeful whole; the 'matter' is but the medium of their expression." We would remark that the tree can only be a thought in a mind; apart from mind it can only be a collection of atoms of matter arranged by physical and vital forces, and to jump in this way from the physical into the spiritual is *per saltum* to get over in imagination, but not in fact, the tremendous chasm that every one recognises.

Towards the close, Professor Drummond indicates that the appearance of Christianity is a part of the evolutionary process. "What is Evolution? A method of creation. What is its object? To make more perfect living beings. What is Christianity? A method of creation. What is its object? To make more perfect living beings. Through what does Evolution work? Through Love. Through what does Christianity work? Through Love. Evolution and Christianity have the same Author, the same end, the same spirit."

This is the grand conclusion. Still one is inclined to ask: Does Evolution really work through Love? We wish it were proven to be the case, but facts seem to be against it.

We have not entered on the consideration of the *Introduction*, because we thought it better to let the lectures speak for themselves. The Introduction is an excellent account of the position of the author towards the Evolution view, and it emphasises the contribution that the author has added to the discussion, namely, the recognition of the great principle of the *struggle for others*, as a factor in Evolution. There can be no question that this is a substantial contribution to the philosophy of the subject, and it has never been put forward with such force and fulness as by Professor Drummond. Apart from the general literary excellence of the book, this is the part that will live in literature, and this is the portion that will awaken thought in many minds, and lead them to look again at Nature. At present we feel bound to say we are not convinced, although, as we have hinted, nothing would be more delightful than to be able to look at the struggle going on in Nature through Professor Drummond's spectacles.

Having offered these criticisms on this remarkable book, criticisms which we feel sure the author will take in good part, it only remains to give our general impression. As a literary production the book is admirable. Certain passages are fine examples of beautiful diction. Such a passage will be found on pp. 292 and 293, in which the author describes, in his very best style, the development of a seed. As a contribution to the discussion of the great theme of Man's relation to the evolutionary process, the book must be regarded as tentative. The time has not yet come for anything like a final statement. The gaps that science has yet to fill up are far too great to allow us to frame a consistent scheme, as has been attempted in this book. The adoption of such a scheme will not ultimately weaken faith, although it will necessitate change of view. We doubt if Professor Drummond himself fully realises the tremendous consequences that must flow from a complete acceptance of the theory of evolution as applied to man (body, mind, soul, religion, sin, death, the future) *as we are at present advised*. A thorough-going evolutionary view demands a new theology, and such fundamental questions as the origin of sin, human responsibility, the taking of our nature by the Son of God (as implied in the doctrine of the Trinity), the possibility of miracle, the possibility of a future life for the individual, will all need to be re-stated and to receive fresh answers. No one could attempt such a task at the present stage of the world's history, as the data are still far too insufficient. The last word has not yet been spoken by science as to the evolution of life from dead matter, or the evolution of animal

forms, still less as to the evolution of all that is included in psychology and morals. Even physical science is only struggling to the light, and cannot yet explain Energy, Light, Electricity, Gravitation, Matter. More light will come, but it may take years, hundreds of years, before it will pierce the darkness of our present ignorance, and enable us to see things in their just proportions. In the meantime, Professor Drummond deserves credit for the courage with which he has applied the evolutionary hypothesis to current views, for his attempt to form a consistent cosmology, for the clear-sightedness with which he sees that all must ultimately be explained by the application of one great Law or Principle representing the Mind of God working out the Harmony of His Universe, and for the beautiful account he has given of the story of evolution, a story that reads like a fairy tale.

JOHN G. M'KENDEICK.

Aspects of Theism.

By William Knight, LL.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of St Andrews. London: Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. viii. 220. Price, 8s. 6d.

THE contents of this volume consist of Lectures delivered in 1890 to the Theological College at Salisbury, and repeated in London in 1891, enlarged, with several addenda. It was the author's intention to fill the latter half of the volume with notes on the literature of the subject, and with this view he deferred publication for two years. But he resolved at length to publish the Lectures very much as they were spoken, as a short study of a great problem. He did well in coming to this conclusion. A book of this sort, unencumbered with a learned apparatus, setting forth in a clear readable form the great broad outlines and leading aspects of the Theistic view of the universe, is fitted to be very useful to many to whom a more elaborate treatise would be inaccessible or uninviting.

Professor Knight is a convinced and earnest believer in God in the Theistic sense of the word, but in stating the grounds of his faith he does not follow the beaten track. In opposition to some well-known and able advocates of Theism, such as Flint and Martineau, he does not regard the time-honoured lines of argument, distinguished as the ontological, the cosmological, and the teleological, as satisfactory or conclusive. An important part of the work before us is devoted to a criticism of these arguments. The ontological, formulated by Augustine, Anselm, and Aquinas, and always dear to the speculative mind, is pronounced a *petitio principii*. "Under every modification it reasons from the necessary notion of

God, to His necessary existence; or from the necessary existence of space and time, which are assumed to be the properties or attributes of a substance, to the necessary existence of that substance." It "identifies the logical with the real." The cosmological argument is pronounced equally lacking in cogency. It is, as all students know, based on the actual existence of the world as a contingent fact, and infers from the existence of the contingent the existence of a necessary Being as its cause. The alternative is an unthinkable eternal regress of infinite antecedents. Our author contends that the unthinkable of such an endless series of causes is no warrant for assuming the existence of a first cause. Such an assumption, after we have grown weary in mounting the ladder of phenomena, is as illegitimate as it would be to one standing on the first rung of the ladder. It is simply a speculative leap in the dark. And what do we gain by the leap? Not the God the Theist believes in, but simply *some kind of being* existing from eternity, in which not Theists only but Materialists and Atheists could believe.

Thus far many will go with our author who will be unwilling to follow him in his next critical step. The teleological argument, based on the rational order and adaptations everywhere observable in Nature, has ever had a much greater hold on thoughtful minds than the two previously alluded to. They appeal chiefly to the metaphysician, but this appeals to all; for there is no man so unlearned as to be unacquainted with at least a few striking instances of "design," and it is to be hoped few are so undevout as to be insensible to the argument: "He that formed the eye shall He not see." While sensible of the attractiveness of this type of reasoning, and allowing its value as a source of knowledge concerning the attributes of God when His existence has been otherwise ascertained, Professor Knight nevertheless thinks it very open to objection, and subjects it to a very searching criticism, which in part repeats the criticism of Kant and others, and in part offers original suggestions. Doubtless many old-fashioned apologists will be very reluctant to adopt his conclusion. And yet one cannot deny that it is a conclusion at which many thoughtful men in our time have independently arrived. Those three stock arguments, which once seemed so conclusive, have now largely lost their power, and those who still believe in God not less firmly than Anselm, Hugo of St Victor, and Paley, are compelled to go in quest of other foundations for the common faith.

The basis to which Professor Knight attaches the greatest importance is *intuition*. Intuitive evidence he regards as the impregnable fortress of Theism. It is not only in itself evidence, but the root of all evidence, that in virtue of which the ordinary Theistic

proofs seem to possess a cogency which in reality does not belong to them, "the premiss we are in search of." In laying so much stress on the Theistic instinct, Professor Knight is aware that he puts his trust in a species of evidence which is very generally disesteemed; therefore he takes pains to state it carefully and with due philosophic circumspection. Indeed, the statement and vindication of intuitionist Theism form a prominent and specially valuable part of the work under review. It is the portion of the work on which the ultimate estimate of its worth will depend.

The question naturally arises: What is this intuition? How is it to be described? Our author's reply to the question is as follows: "It may be most fitly described as a direct gaze, by the inner eye of the spirit, into a region over which mists usually brood. The great and transcendent Reality, which it apprehends, lies ever more behind the veil of phenomena. It does not see far into that reality, yet it grasps it, and recognises in it the open secret of the universe." The very terms of this description suggest the reflection that the intuition described is neither universal in its extent nor unintermittent. Professor Knight is aware of both these facts, and does his best to show that they do not evacuate intuitionist evidence of its force. He maintains that the apparent absence of the intuition of God from the field of consciousness in certain individuals, and its real absence in others, and even its slumbering in the human race, so far from being evidence against it, is rather what was to be expected *a priori*. The higher we rise in the scale of endowment, the creatures who have the finer faculty are the fewer in number. The higher powers are also those which are most easily deranged. Once more the reports of the higher faculties are less frequently in evidence than is the testimony of the lower ones. "The latter are almost always active, and their verdicts are received with unquestioning obedience because they are so familiar. Of the energy of the former we are conscious only at intervals." Through the Theistic instinct we "discern, for a moment, an august Presence other than the human, through a break in the clouds, which usually veil him from our eyes." This way of putting the matter may seem to make faith in God a purely subjective affair, the possession of the few who are endowed with the clear vision necessary for seeing the Presence through the opening in the clouds. But it may also be regarded as a claim to have the vision of the gifted few—the poets, the prophets, the seers, accepted by the less gifted as a revelation. To the latter it is said in effect: You do not see God; take it on the word of those who do see that there is a Divine Presence beyond the phenomenal. Even they do not see God at all times, but only now and then, in moments of inspiration; but the experiences of these moments not only convince them and sustain

them through the darker intervals, but supply sufficient authority for your faith.

Among the more interesting chapters in the *Aspects of Theism*, are those which treat of the personality of God, the ethical argument, and the Beautiful in its relation to Theism. The great puzzle much insisted on by Pantheists in relation to the first of these topics is the combination of personality with the attributes of infinitude and absoluteness. The line of thought by which it is sought to meet this difficulty resembles that of Lotze in his *Microcosmus*. The infinite is the truly personal; finite beings are only personal in a crude defective sense. Men need the non-ego to help them to self-consciousness, but the infinite can dispense with this condition, just because of its infinity. In his statement of the Ethical argument, Professor Knight is more in affinity with Martineau than with Kant, seeing in the action of conscience not autonomy but theonomy, the dictates of the moral sense being taken as the very voice of God. The Theistic significance of the Beautiful is manifestly a favourite theme of the author. The chapter dealing with this subject is one of the most enjoyable in the book. Some matter-of-fact readers may be inclined to think that Professor Knight at this point exchanges the function of a philosopher for that of the poet, and writes as one who has sat at the feet of Wordsworth. He would not, we fancy, very earnestly repel the charge, believing as he does that it is better to keep company with the seers and prophets of the Beautiful, than with the mere chemist or physicist, and that the poet takes one very much nearer to the heart of things than the prosaic scientist. But he would not admit that in taking up this position he was renouncing philosophy, because he holds that the beauty of the universe may be philosophically construed as a direct disclosure of the Infinite to man.

We heartily commend this book to the large and growing circle of readers who find in the problems of Theism an attraction at once for their intellectual faculties and for their religious feelings. Professor Knight speaks to both. The book is popular without being superficial. It is at once strictly philosophical and genuinely poetical. If it do not prove that God is to any who had hitherto denied that proposition, it will supply food for devout thought and stimulus to religious life in the case of all who believe that God is and that he is the rewarder of them that diligently seek him.

A. B. BRUCE.

Beiträge zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens.

*Von Dr Fr. Heinrich Reusch, Professor an der Universität Bonn.
München: Beck. 8vo, pp. 266. Price, 5s.*

THESE contributions to the history of the Company of the Jesuits are not published with a view to influencing the controversy which has long been a burning question in several countries on the Continent. Only to a limited extent can the book be regarded as polemical. It treats of subjects which the Jesuits prefer to leave untouched, and to see untouched by others, because the discussion of them involves awkwardness, if not discredit, for their Society. The studies of Dr Reusch have brought him frequently upon the track of such subjects; and he here places before the public, in a clear and succinct way, some of the results at which he has arrived. The book may be regarded as a sort of appendix or companion volume to the two intensely interesting and instructive volumes on *Moralstreitigkeiten* in the Society of the Jesuits, which Reusch in conjunction with Döllinger published some years ago. Those who already possess that work should certainly complete it by procuring the present volume; which, however, is entirely independent, and may be read with profit by those who know nothing of the earlier and larger work.

The book contains five chapters, thus distinguished:—I. The Doctrine of the Assassination of Tyrants; II. French Jesuits as Gallicans; III. The Conference at Bourfontaine, A Jesuit Fable; IV. The false Arnould, An Illustration of the Dictum that the End sanctifies the Means; V. Smaller Contributions.

The volume concludes with an appendix to the first chapter, containing a separate discussion of the attempts to assassinate Queen Elizabeth.

With regard to the first subject, it is at once admitted that the Jesuits were not the *inventors* of the doctrine that it is lawful for private individuals to put tyrants to death. The question is, whether Jesuit theologians have, as a rule, defended or condemned the doctrine. The principal writers during two centuries, from Mariana in the sixteenth century to Liguori and others in the eighteenth, are examined, with the result that these moralists are found much more often to countenance the doctrine in question than to condemn it. It will be worth while to cite a few examples.

Mariana entered the Company of the Jesuits at the age of eighteen in 1554, and in 1599 published his work *De rege et regis institutione* in three books. In 1610, Paul V. spoke severely of it; but it was never placed on the Index. Some Jesuits pretended to doubt whether Mariana was really the author of it. The peculiarity

of his teaching on the subject of tyrannicide is that he bases the right to put to death a prince who has become a tyrant *upon the sovereignty of the people*. It is a natural right inherent in that sovereignty. And here it should be noticed that in discussing this question Jesuit moralists distinguish two kinds of tyrants. There is the usurper, who without any authority makes himself a ruler by force. And there is the lawfully appointed prince, who rules in a tyrannical manner. The majority of Jesuits have taught that there are cases in which a usurper may be put to death by any citizen. Mariana transfers what others allow respecting the usurper to the case of princes who govern tyrannically.

A very interesting development of the common Jesuit doctrine, that it may be lawful for a private individual to kill a usurper, is found in the doctrine that the pope has the right to depose iniquitous princes, and especially such as persist in upholding heresy. When a sovereign has been deposed by the pope, if he resists the deposition and attempts to maintain his sovereignty, he becomes a tyrant. What kind of a tyrant? Not of the second kind, but of the first. He is not a rightful prince, who is ruling in a tyrannical manner; but one who, without any right to rule, persists in ruling. He is a usurper. The logical consequence is that, as such, it may become lawful for any citizen to put him to death. And from this consequence some leading Jesuit theologians do not shrink.

The favourite scriptural evidence for this conclusion is the action of the high priest Jehoiada, who first of all deposed Queen Athaliah, and then caused her to be slain. He did this by his official authority as high priest; and whatever jurisdiction the high priest had under the old covenant the pope has under the new. Suarez, who ranks highest as an authority among Jesuit theologians, says on this point: "A king who has been deposed by the pope on account of heresy, can no longer exercise authority lawfully; on the contrary, he may be slain by any private individual as a tyrant." He adds later on that the pope must have given a special commission to the private individual to act as executioner, or else have stated that it is lawful for anyone to do so. But a sovereign, deposed by the pope for heresy, *ipso facto* forfeits his life if he continues to rule. As to the possession of the deposed man's kingdom, if the pope says nothing, the lawful heir succeeds. But the pope can assign, and often has assigned, the dominions of deposed princes to other sovereigns; and that at once gives them the right to seize such dominions.¹

¹ *Defensio fidei catholicæ et apostolicæ adversus anglicanæ sectæ errores, cum responsione ad Apologiam pro juramento fidelitatis*.—Coimbra, 1613; Cologne, 1614.

Among the older handbooks of casuistry none had a greater circulation than the *Medulla theologiæ moralis* of Busenbaum, which between 1645 and 1776 went through more than two hundred editions. It was considerably enlarged by Lacroix, and this enlargement also was frequently republished. It contains among other similar doctrines the following proposition :—

“ An outlaw may be put to death only in the territory of the prince who has outlawed him, not in foreign territory. . . . On the other hand, one who has been outlawed by the pope may be put to death anywhere—as Filiuccius, Escobar, Diana, and Moya teach—because throughout the world the pope has at least indirect jurisdiction even in temporal matters, so far as this is necessary for the management of spiritual matters, as all Catholics teach and as Suarez proves in his treatise against the King of England ” (Lib. iii. cap. 23).

One of the most extraordinary instances of belief in the doctrine that the pope can give leave to commit murder is found in a note at the end of the volume. In 1621 a bishop asked permission to poison certain nuns who had had intercourse with the devil. After having repented of this wickedness, they had been so persecuted by the evil one that they wished to be put out of their misery by death, and the bishop was ready to free them from their troubles in this way, provided the pope gave leave. The pope ordered the bishop to provide them with an intelligent confessor, who would bring them to a sounder condition, &c., &c.; but he does not for a moment suggest that he has not the power to grant any such permission.

In the second chapter, on “ French Jesuits as Gallicans,” the following instructive incident is recorded :—The French Parliament on various occasions condemned the teaching of Jesuit theologians; and after the condemnation of Santarelli's book it summoned the Provincial Cotton, the superiors of the three Jesuit houses in Paris, and three of the oldest Jesuit fathers to appear before it, March 14, 1626. On being asked whether they agreed with the contents of Santarelli's book, they replied that they disagreed, and were prepared to write against it. “ Are you not aware that this vile doctrine has been approved by your general in Rome ? ” “ Yes ; but we who are here are not responsible for this unwisdom, and we censure it as strongly as we can. ” “ Well, then, answer these two points. Do you not believe that the king is omnipotent in his dominions ? And do you think that a foreign power can interfere therein or ought to do so, or that the peace of the Gallican Church may be disturbed in the person of the king ? ” “ No ; we believe that the king is omnipotent in temporal matters. ” “ In temporal matters : speak openly, and tell us whether you believe that the pope can excommunicate the king, free his subjects from their oath

of allegiance, and deprive him of his realm." "Excommunicate the king, who is the eldest son of the Church, and assuredly will take care not to do anything that would compel the pope to do so!" "But your general, who has approved this book, holds the doctrine just stated to be infallible: are you of a different conviction?" "He who is at Rome cannot do otherwise than approve what the Roman Curia approves." "And your conviction?" "Is exactly the opposite." "And if you were in Rome, what would you do?" "We should act as those who are there." At which one or two members of Parliament exclaimed, "What! they have one conscience for Paris and another for Rome! Heaven preserve us from such father confessors!" The end of it was that, being in Paris, they acted on their Parisian conscience, and signed a declaration in which they repudiated the doctrine of Santarelli, and promised never to teach it.

Chapter III. illustrates the saying of the French theologian, Antoine Arnauld, that "the Jesuits never retract the slanders which they have once made current." In 1654 Jean Filleau of Poitiers published a book, entitled *Relation juridique de ce qui s'est passé à Poitiers touchant la nouvelle doctrine des Jansénistes*. This professed to give an account of a meeting at Bourghontaine in the forest of Villers-Coterets, about fifty miles from Paris, in which seven persons framed a plot to destroy the Catholic religion, and set up Deism in its place; and as a means to this end they decided to propagate all the doctrines and practices which are characteristic of Jansenism! One of them, who was a priest, in 1622 or 1623, withdrew from the conspiracy, and told the whole secret to Filleau, giving him the initials of the other six. The whole story is manifestly pure invention, the object of which is to discredit Jansenism, which of course must be very dreadful stuff if it can be used as an instrument for overthrowing Christianity and substituting Deism. Yet the new *Freiburger Kirchenlexicon* has an article on Bourghontaine, written in 1883 by the Jesuit R. Bauer, in which this cock-and-bull story is reproduced in such a way as to lead the reader to suppose, not that it is strictly historical—that would be a little too strong—but that there is some doubt as to whether all the details can be regarded as wholly true. Dr Reusch shows by various quotations that this is the way in which this outrageous invention has been treated by Jesuit writers from the time when it was first set in motion down to the present day. They do not dare to say that they believe it, which would expose them to damaging criticism. But they have not the frankness or the generosity to say that they disbelieve it; which would be throwing away a stick that might still be useful for the backs of Jansenists. Within the last twenty years we have heard of the Nag's Head

fable being used as a serious argument in order to win undergraduates as converts to the Church of Rome;¹ and the Bourfontaine fable may even yet be of service for the discomfiture of those who oppose the Jesuits. It should be noticed that the name of the renegade who disclosed the alleged conspiracy was never stated, and that Filleau said not a word about the disclosure for thirty years. But the intrinsic silliness of the story is enough to condemn it. That seven sane persons should conspire to substitute Deism for Catholicism by propagating Jansenism is as probable as that seven evangelical clergymen should conspire to substitute a republic for the monarchy by propagating teetotalism.

The history of "the false Arnauld," which is the subject of the fourth chapter, is evidence of similar tactics on the part of the Jesuits. In order to obtain their ends, and especially when the end is the discomfiture of theological opponents, they do not shrink from conduct which is thoroughly discreditable. We have again to do with French Jesuits working against the Jansenists in the seventeenth century. Douai at that time (since 1667) belonged to France, and its university had much declined. Of the professors some supported the Jesuits, while others were supposed to be Jansenists—i.e., they did *not* support the Jesuits. Favoriti, secretary to Pope Innocent XI., defined a Jansenist to be "a man of special piety and virtue, who is an enemy of the Jesuits": and, in reference to the horror of Jansenism with which Louis XIV. and Madame de Maintenon had been inspired, the chancellor D'Aguesseau said that "Jansenist is a name that one gives to those whom one wishes to ruin at Court." It was in this sense that some of the Douai professors were Jansenists, and they walked into the trap which was set for them with the utmost simplicity.

In June 1690 a Jesuit delivered a speech in the university against the Jansenists, to which a young professor named De Ligny soon afterwards replied. A fortnight later he received a friendly letter, signed "Antoine A.," which he believed to have been written by Antoine Arnauld. Delighted at receiving a letter from so distinguished a theologian he sent a cordial reply, and a long correspondence ensued, in which he was drawn on to express sympathy with views very much opposed to those of the Jesuits, and akin to such as were commonly condemned as Jansenist, and therefore heretical. Precisely the same device was tried with other persons at Douai, "whom it was desired to ruin at Court," and with equal success. In some cases this correspondence between "Antoine A." and his dupes was kept up for a year or more; and one wonders that suspicion was in no case aroused much earlier.

¹ The Nag's Head fable is to be found in a new work by Gasparri. *Tractatus Canonice de Sacra Ordinatione*, p. 279, given as sober history.

But none of the victims were personally acquainted with Arnauld ; and all of them were flattered by the thought that they had attracted his notice, and were in correspondence with him.

As soon as Arnauld heard of the use that had been made of his name, he published, July 1691, a protest. The Jesuits forthwith maintained that the letters were by the true Arnauld, and that the protest appeared to be written by some one who had assumed his name. Whereupon Arnauld wrote a second protest, which he supported by a third, and that by a fourth. The first two were addressed to the Bishop of Arras, Sèves de Rochechouart, who in 1675 had spoken out strongly, as he did again afterwards in 1703, against the immoral teaching of the Jesuits.¹ He commenced proceedings against Payen, the rector of the Jesuit College at Douai. Payen at first refused to appear, and then declared that he had had the originals of the letters, but had sent them to Paris to the king. Soon after he was translated to Liège, to be rector there, and the proceedings dropped. Arnauld's third protest, therefore, was addressed to the Bishop of Liège, who received it with expressions of friendliness, but did nothing. The fourth protest was addressed to the Jesuits themselves, after which he wrote to the king.

Louis XIV. handed the papers to the Archbishop of Paris, and told him to lay them before the Sorbonne, the professors of which reported, Dec. 26, 1691, that their purport was to revive the condemned doctrine of Jansenism. Whereupon the king deposed two of the Douai correspondents from their professorships, imprisoned two more, and banished three others. Of the dishonourable trick by which they had been entrapped into incriminating themselves, by expressing sympathy with views which were supposed to be heretical, Louis XIV. appears to have shown no disapprobation. On the contrary, he is said to have called it *un stratagème de guerre*.

Who wrote the letters signed "Antoine A." is not known with certainty ; but probably more than one person took part in the work. Some were written in very good French, and some were not. There is very good reason for believing that Le Tellier, who in 1709 became confessor to Louis XIV., had a hand in the former, and that Waudripont, afterwards rector at Tournai, was the writer of the latter. A Jesuit priest named Lallemand is said to have claimed to be the contriver and director of the deception. Respecting its merits we may accept the criticism of Leibnitz, who in a letter to the Landgraf Ernst von Hessen-Rheinfels, says : "I wonder that so many respectable people, as there are among the Jesuits, can tolerate things so utterly at variance with the simplest principles of honour."

¹ See Döllinger and Reusch, *Moralstreitigkeiten*, pp. 66, 292.

The fifth chapter to a large extent consists of reports of miracles which have been attributed to Jesuits who have been canonized,—Ignatius Loyola, Aloysius of Gonzaga, Canisius, &c. These do not refer to miracles which these persons are supposed to have worked during their lifetime, but to such as have been wrought “at their intercession,” when their devotees have applied to them for help. One wonders where the sense of humour can have been in the case of a writer who seriously puts forth such things as historical facts, or where the religious sense can have been when such things are supposed to be edifying. But the Jesuits have seldom been fortunate in those who have written in support of their Society. The reputation which they enjoy for extraordinary astuteness and knowledge of the world is strangely at variance with facts. It was acquired in the days of their first ardour and activity, and has been sustained by considerable successes in later times. But these successes have been more than counterbalanced by frequent disasters and blunders, which, however, have made far less impression upon the popular imagination than their successes have done. They are like quack doctors, whose occasional cures are noised abroad, while their frequent failures are forgotten. Their morality has long since been generally discredited, but their cleverness is still believed to be immense. These *Beiträge* will help to produce a more accurate estimate of their abilities, without perhaps doing much to rehabilitate their character.

The book is written with Dr Reusch's accustomed clearness and fairness, and is a real contribution to what will always be a fascinating subject; for, although the doings of Jesuits are sometimes strangely short-sighted, they are seldom or never dull. The printing is as clear as the style, and we have noticed only one uncorrected misprint. In the last line of p. 191 the date 1592 is impossible: 1692 is probably meant.

ALFRED PLUMMER.

Lectures on the Bases of Religious Belief.

By Charles B. Upton, B.A., B.Sc., Professor of Philosophy in Manchester College. London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 364. Price, 10s. 6d.

THE Hibbert Lectures for 1893 form somewhat of a contrast to former Lectures on that foundation. They were historical, descriptive and anthropological, and dealt with the phases and forms which religious belief had assumed in the past. The present course, to use the words of the Lecturer, examines “what ground there is for maintaining that these various beliefs contain within

them some elements of permanent truth which sound culture in no way tends to undermine and efface, but simply to separate from the accidental and transient concomitants which in the earlier stages of human history, to a large extent, conceal and distort the essential and indestructible factors of religious experience." It is an important work which Professor Upton has undertaken. In fact, to do this well is one of the needs of our time. Many are working for this great end, and the number of treatises which deal with the subject in one or other of its aspects is immense. Professor Upton brings to his task many striking qualities. He has a wide knowledge of philosophy, and a firm grasp of philosophical principles. He can think clearly, and express his thoughts in lucid language. He has great ethical insight and high speculative power, and would seem to be fitted for the work he has to do.

Still, we have read the book with some measure of dissatisfaction. With many of his positions we can cordially concur. We are glad to read that Professor Upton affirms that there is "direct action of the Universal Spirit on the finite spirit in answer to prayer or aspiration." He indeed says that most Theists recognise this. When this is once admitted as true, it sweeps away many of the objections which many have taken to Theism. But it also seems to sweep away many of the positions taken up by Professor Upton himself. It would seem to admit the possibility of a Divine and special revelation, the existence of which Professor Upton practically denies. In truth, the Professor, with an imperious sweep of the hand, in the name of rational religion, tells us that "the Bible certainly does not bear the impress of being the unique composition of one Holy Spirit, but has all the marks of having been the work of many minds of varying degrees of scientific, philosophical and spiritual insight." In the chapter on "Culture and Religious Belief" Professor Upton, in the course of a few paragraphs, disposes of what he calls "dogmatic Religion," by which he means Christianity as professed by all except a very few. He has not seen that in the process he has swept away his own creed as well, the creed which he says "most Theists recognise." Why may not the Bible be the record of the "direct action of the Universal Spirit on the finite spirit in answer to prayer or aspiration"? At all events, the matter is not to be disposed of in the peremptory manner adopted by Professor Upton. Has he not mistaken the talk of a coterie for the universal opinion of cultivated mankind? May we ask also where Professor Upton got the information, which he often repeats in his volume, that "Jesus had ever spoken of God as the Father within Him"? He states this categorically more than once, and he gives no reference to any words of Jesus. We have sought for evidence of the statement, and we have not found it. On the contrary, we find

that Jesus can and does speak to the Father, prays to the Father, and ever recognises the Father as a Being not only within, but also without Him.

Again, Professor Upton says, "There is good reason to believe that he himself never dreamed that the Eternal was immanent or incarnate in him in any different sense to that in which He is immanent in any rational soul." We submit that a topic so great deserved more adequate treatment than it receives in saying—"there is good reason to believe." Nor is it easy to understand what Professor Upton means when he says, "the basal doctrine of Christianity is not a doctrine of a Trinity in Unity, but of a countless plurality of persons in one divine substance." Strauss, in his "dogmatic," has tried to translate the Christian doctrines regarding Christ into doctrines which substitute the human race for Christ, and, on the whole, he has done it better than Professor Upton has done. But the question is too large to be argued here. We say, however, that it deserves more adequate treatment than it has received from the hands of Professor Upton.

It is a very common practice now-a-days to exalt Theism in order to depreciate Christianity. Nothing is more common than to make Christianity a mere phase of natural religion. Lecturers, both Gifford and Hibbert, seem to like the practice, for it enables them to enrich their schemes of natural religion with all the ethical and spiritual wealth of the contents of the Christian Religion. On the whole, it is a question whether you can produce the fruit when you have cut down the tree. Apart from Christ, Christianity does not amount to much. Take the Risen Christ away, and what have you? Take away the Christ who can help and save and bless men to-day, and you have taken away the essential and distinctive characteristic of Christianity, and what remains is not worth fighting about.

What then is the form of Theism which Professor Upton advocates? It is peculiar to himself. "We thus come to regard the universe, with all its modes of matter, force, and consciousness, as the forms in which the Eternal God calls into existence, by a partial self-sundering, it would seem of His own essential being, this universe of centres of energy and personal selves, which some philosophers, such as Hegel, designate as the Son of God." "The lowest modes of Divine Creation, a self-differentiation, constituting those elementary principles which science describes as matter and force, form through their mechanical and invariable operation, the very foundation which is necessary as a theatre for the exercise of those higher modes of sensation and consciousness which reach their acme in the rational and self-determining man. There is good reason for thinking that in all cosmical life the Eternal Being surrenders

somewhat of His own essence and direct causality, that he may call into existence, contemplate and commune with those dependent images of Himself which form the objects of his thought and love." "If there is an Eternal Being whose essence includes those universal principles of reason, righteousness, and love, which disclose themselves in the higher forms of our own self-consciousness, then it is no more than reasonable to expect that this Absolute Being should *eternally* manifest His inner nature in an infinite cosmos of inter-related physical and psychical agencies, all of which continually depend for their existence and their intelligible unity on that self-determining Causality, whereby He in part differentiates His own substance into a world of dependent things and finite selves." "This differentiation of His Eternal Substance by which God calls into existence a physical and psychical cosmos is, as we have seen, in all probability a process of Divine Causality co-eternal with the Absolute Himself." These quotations are from different chapters, and we might have quoted many others. But these will suffice to indicate Professor Upton's view of what Creation is, and of what is the relation between God and the World. He tries hard to distinguish it from Pantheism, and he has many true and good remarks on sin, on freedom, remarks of which strong and emphatic approval may be expressed. Still it is difficult to see how Pantheism is to be avoided, if all beings are "modes of God's Eternal substance and Eternal Life."

If we are called on to make any affirmation as to what Creation is, and as to what the method of Creation is, are we constrained to think of it in this quantitative way? Why must we think of the Divine Being "as surrendering somewhat of His own essence and direct causality"? But difficulties accumulate as we seek to gather Professor Upton's meaning. First we are to conceive of a surrendering of essence to the cosmos, and secondly we are to conceive of this surrender as "co-eternal with Himself." In one case the surrender has a date, and in the other it is eternal. Is the cosmos eternal? We cannot say, on Professor Upton's theory; or rather, we have to answer yes and no. Is the Eternal Being less or more in virtue of his self-sundering? But in truth we are entangled by Professor Upton in a process in which quantity is everything and quality nothing. Finite being cannot begin except by a differentiation of Eternal substance! May not the Divine Causality act without a process of self-differentiation? It appears to us that Professor Upton is driven to this emanative theory of Creation, by the necessity he feels to provide some *other* for God, some object for God to care for, think of, and love. Hence the necessity for a cosmos co-eternal with Himself. But if the Godhead be social, if there are inter-relations within the life of God, then

God may be essentially love before the cosmos began to be. Christian thought does not start with the unity between God and the cosmos. It does not postulate a unity of being between God and the world, nor does it make the world to be a differentiation of the Divine Substance. The unity of God and the universe is not one substance, it is not quantitative but qualitative, it is not one yet accomplished, but it is a unity which has its goal in the future, when God has made a universe to which He can communicate Himself. The unity is thus ethical and spiritual, not quantitative and physical.

There are many true and beautiful things in these Lectures. The chapters on Agnosticism, on God "as Ground and Cause," and on "Absolute Idealism," are finely written, clearly thought, and altogether masterly as pieces of incisive criticism.

JAMES IVERACH.

Social Evolution.

By Benjamin Kidd. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. 348. Cash Price, 10s. net.

MR KIDD's volume has been a great and immediate success. But is that success legitimate? On the literary side we gladly acknowledge that it is. We have here an arduous question treated with great energy and great dignity. The vigour of thought and wealth of illustration and high moral tone of the book seem to sustain the reader while they carry him on, as a swimmer is borne up in a swollen stream.

But that is not enough. For this volume is a whole, a construction, an argument. Indeed one secret of its attractiveness is the simplicity as well as skill with which the argument is constructed. In giving an account of the book, therefore, we must state, and attempt also to estimate, its argumentative framework. This is all the more necessary, because Mr Kidd himself, before he comes to the central part of his book, and in dealing with the presuppositions upon which it is based, shows a very inadequate sense of the strictness of reasoning which such questions exact from a thinker. Take this sentence for example (p. 59):—

"As man can only reach his highest development and employ his powers to the fullest extent in society, *it follows* that in the evolution we witness him undergoing through history, his development as an individual is necessarily of less importance than his development as a social creature."

It does not in the least follow. The conclusion may be true or false in itself (and great part of the book is built upon it), but it is

extremely rash to draw from it such premises. The social state may be a necessary condition of the individual man's reaching his highest development, and yet man as an individual may remain of enormously more importance than man as a social creature. Not only so. The fact that man requires society for his highest development is quite consistent with the individual development becoming steadily more, while the social development becomes steadily less, important. The latter, though a necessary condition of the former, might be a factor which in the future was certain to diminish, in order to make room for the other's equal increase.

But this is basement-storey and preliminary. The book itself is constructed on the well-known principle of building up a wall in order to throw it down again, or at least of magnifying an obstacle until it becomes so formidable that only the author and his new and original scheme can get round it. Accordingly, for the first half of the book Mr Kidd acts as the Devil's Advocate. And while in the latter part he exchanges his brief and appears as counsel for the other side, he retains to the close the very remarkable conviction that, looking at it as a question of reason, the Devil is right. This, certainly the most striking position of the book, is first announced in a chapter which bears the uncompromising heading, "There is no rational sanction for the conditions of progress." In the long process of world-development we have come, Mr Kidd points out, to a crisis. Had the brutes been endowed with reason, their reason would have led each of them to live to himself, and by no means for the progress or advancement of his species. "But now at last, science stands confronted with a creature differing from all that have gone before him. He is endowed with reason." And as to the brutes, if they had reason, "their own welfare must have appeared immeasurably more important than the future of the species," so it must now appear to the reason of man. The new factor born into the world "must, it would appear, have the effect of ultimately staying all further progress." The masses hold political power now; and "from the standpoint of reason," that is, of self-interest, it would seem that they should put an immediate end to the present conditions of social progress. Their interest is to draw a ring fence around them, to abolish competition, to suspend the rivalry of individuals, to organise on socialist principles the means of production, and above all to keep down the population to the point of comfort for all. In so doing they will no doubt be terminating what are and always have been the conditions of social progress. But they will be acting on the "unexaggerated teaching of sober reason." For there emerges now clearly into sight a fundamental principle: "It is, that in the development of our modern civilisation the interests of the individual and those of the social organism to

which he belongs are not identical." The "self-assertive reason of the individual" must therefore be permanently opposed to that competitive struggle and survival of the fittest which alone have advanced the race to higher and higher planes of being, and we are face to face with a conflict between each man's interest and that of the whole world.

This conclusion seems to Mr Kidd so clear that he holds it to the close of his volume, and constructs his remedial argument upon it. He sees that it will not do to leave the human race where he and reason have combined to place it. We must, in some way or other, get decent social conduct in the individual, and for such social conduct we must have a sanction. He finds it in religion. But religion is necessarily "an ultra-rational sanction," or, as he says, it may be put in other words, "a rational religion is a scientific impossibility." Yet religion is the chief impulse and almost the sole security we have for social or evolutionary progress. And on the other hand, "the most profoundly individualistic, anti-social, and anti-evolutionary of all human qualities is"—reason.

Now, is all this truth, or paradox? In answering the question we must deal with the author's central position, and must avoid the temptation to range, with the Duke of Argyll and Lord Farrar, over expository episodes, which are always luminous but not always lucid. But his central position raises the question, Is reason in man an anti-social and disintegrating quality? Reason has always been supposed to be otherwise. And, we think, most rightly. The famous and venerable name has taken on many shades of meaning in its stately progress through the philosophies and the ages. But under no connotation has Reason borne such a sense as to justify even for an hour this fundamental position. Professor Drummond has recently pointed out that Mr Kidd, in his too obsequious Darwinianism, has forgotten that even the lower creation, in its lowest forms, has had unselfish as well as selfish instincts and propensities. But take it that the world has been built up, as our author will have it, upon the selfish passion for eating—for eating others, if need be, and in all circumstances for eating in competition with others. "From this stress of nature," he holds, has arisen all our advance in the past—"every attribute of form, colour, instinct, strength, courage, nobility, and beauty in the teeming and wonderful world of life around us"—until reason at last comes in, to put an arrest upon it all. But what if it is precisely reason which has transformed the primitive and brutal passion into that cluster of ennobling attributes? It is so, name and thing. Indeed, there is no word in the language which by general consent so fully and adequately expresses the complex force which works this wondrous change. No doubt it does not work,

as is here supposed, merely upon the self-regarding instincts. It works also upon the others, which, like the passion of sex and the passion of maternity, are equally sincere and equally powerful, though they drive the individual outwards upon others. But even if we suppose that man originally had only instincts which are selfish (in the sense which Butler long ago exploded), it is reason which transforms that original and brutal selfishness into the long-thoughted, large-minded, much-pondering, and much-meditating Eudaimonism, of a being whose passion for higher happiness now soars above the bars of earth and the limits of time. In no case can reason *add* to the original selfishness of the animal. In its very lowest and poorest sense—of mere intellect, of large discourse looking before and after—it intellectualises the instinct already present, and gives it magnificent horizons and a boundless scope. In its highest and truest sense again (strangely overlooked throughout every page of this powerful book), it does more. It contributes to the original instincts (both selfish and unselfish), not merely intellect and wider earthly horizons, but *conscience*, and a heavenly horizon of the noble and the good which is simply infinite. And by thus adding to the animal world the great element and attraction of morality, reason disturbs and for ever overthrows the previous equipoise of selfish and unselfish instincts. Henceforward man can never be self-seeking (in the sense in which even the mother-tigress may fitly be so), without self-condemnation and self-contempt. In attaining reason he is introduced to a law which forever binds him over to altruism, and to that service of others or of Another which is the highest freedom. And this is what is said to be anti-social! The truth is the converse. If the advent of reason to man changes the whole situation, as is here urged, it does so not in the sense of giving more strength to the selfish instincts than was found in the brute, or weakening the social impulses. To say that it does the contrary, and gives the latter simply more strength, would be inadequate. It gives love not only strength, but sovereignty—though it is, I admit, a sovereignty *de jure*. Yet even in that former lowest sense, and as a mere matter of utilitarianism and intellectual perception, it was reason which taught man that his individual happiness is bound up with that of others; and the learning of this lesson is what we call civilisation. But at the very beginning of the process, and at the roots of all civilisation, reason begins to teach another lesson than that of happiness. "Who told thee that thou wast to be happy? Art thou a vulture, screaming for thy food? Seek blessedness, and happiness will follow." That, too, is the voice of reason, and it makes the difference between the vulture and the man, between the two ideals of a savage selfishness and a godlike altruism. And so through all the

stages of human life and culture, from the first man who found the advantage of barter, up to those who heard Kant's universal imperative "So live!" and remembered that of Christ—through it all and above it all, reason remains (to invert Mr Kidd's formula already quoted) "the most social, the most anti-selfish, and the most evolutionary of all human qualities."

We need not say that if Mr Kidd's fundamental position crumbles away to this extent, there is no room for those which he builds upon it. Religion as a sanction is no longer "ultra-rational," in the sense which our author's argument demands, viz. : anti-rational or opposed to the conclusions of reason. Nor is a rational religion "a scientific impossibility." For while he frequently confounds the Christian impulse with the charitable or altruistic impulse, and makes religion equivalent to ethics, he does not deny that such an impulse exists, and is indeed the great saving force. And if altruism exists, it is not *more* unreasoning, or less rational, than the simple selfishness of the savage. Take it that both were mere unreasoning instincts to begin with. Which takes on from reason the more magnificent expansion? Which comes nearer in its result to the supreme reason of the Divine?

Our objections, it will be seen, are mainly to the form of this rich and suggestive book. We do not concede that they are therefore merely formal. The volume is one more illustration of the tendency to find a "natural law in the spiritual world," to the exclusion of a "spiritual law in the natural world." And yet if, as evolutionists are apt to assure us, the two worlds are one, the latter is as legitimate a result—from perhaps as legitimate a procedure—as the former, and in certain higher problems it must be the more likely method to attain a solution. But these are not considerations which a man like Mr Kidd, with so many "windows of the soul all open to the sun," would be likely long to overlook. His book, admirable alike in its materials and in its motives, is apparently one more instance of rapid and premature crystallisation—crystallisation around a tempting paradox.

A. TAYLOR INNES.

Philosophy and Development of Religion.

Being the Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of Edinburgh, 1894, by Otto Pfleiderer, D.D., Professor of Theology, University of Berlin. In Two Volumes. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1894. Pp. 330 and 356. Price 15s. nett.

THESE volumes have been eagerly expected, and will be read with keen interest. When delivered in Edinburgh, the Gifford Lectures

made a considerable impression, and called forth a short course of lectures in reply by Principal Rainy, and Professors Orr and Marcus Dods, which have been since published and widely read. The reply was made under the disadvantage of there being only newspaper reports of the lectures for his opponents to go upon; and while weighty and effective, it necessarily dealt with little more than the fundamental principle of Dr Pfeiderer's philosophy and criticism, the denial of the supernatural. Now that the lectures are given to the world, they will no doubt be subjected to a more detailed examination. The lecturer's position in theology is a well-defined one, and is well known; but here he has thrown his views into a form that is at once exact enough to satisfy the scientific student of theology, and so popular and attractive as to win a hearing for him and his opinions among many who are repelled from ordinary treatises on such a subject. Whatever may be thought of the author as a critic, no one will call in question his almost unrivalled gift of exposition. There is a warmth of religious feeling about these pages that is impressive, as well as a genuine appreciation of the place that belongs to Christ in the religious life of man, even while the doctrine of His Person is stripped by the author of those historic beliefs and intellectual conceptions in which the conviction of His superhuman worth has hitherto rooted itself.

The first volume treats of the Philosophy of Religion in general, and need not now be further referred to, as a succeeding number of this *Review* will contain a criticism, by a very competent hand, of the new edition of Dr Pfeiderer's "*Religions-Philosophie*," which covers the ground of the first series of these lectures. I content myself with a brief account of the second volume on the "*History and Origin of Christianity*." In the introductory chapter he prepares us for what is to follow. Holding by the main positions of Baur's criticism of the Gospels, he will not hear of a written record earlier than 70 A.D.; and he brings down the Gospel of Matthew to the middle of the next century, describing it "as a faithful mirror of the dogmatic and moral consciousness of the Catholic Church about the middle of the second century" (p. 35). In this way abundant time is allowed for the free transformation of the original reminiscences of the Gospel under the influence of the various motives that are supposed to have been at work. In this the lecturer sees a providential arrangement, for he attributes the value of the Gospels as "nutriment for the spiritual life of the Christian community," to the blending of the various elements and motives by which the historical has become idealised, and spiritual experiences have embodied themselves in narratives that contain no more than a poetic truth. But it may be doubted whether the spiritual life will continue to be nourished, at least in ordinary

persons, by ideal representations, to which nothing corresponds in the world of objective reality, and after the historic basis on which these have rested has been cut away by the hand of a remorseless criticism. For our difficulty about accepting the account he has given us of the origin of the Gospels is, that it wholly undermines their credibility as narratives of historic fact. We are left in a state of absolute uncertainty as to what is real and actual, as distinguished from that which has proceeded from dogmatic reflection, and from the process of unconscious fabrication of history that went on in the mind of the Church. After an instructive chapter on the "Preparation of Christianity," we have an "Account of the Gospel of Jesus Christ." It is an admirable chapter in many ways. The characteristic features of the teaching of Christ are well set forth; but there is one suggestive omission,—Dr Pfleiderer makes no mention of Christ's teaching regarding Himself and the unique relation in which He claimed to stand to God and men. We infer that he regards the words in which this claim is made as having been put into His mouth at a later period by the love and admiration of His followers. But the Gospel passages that contain these wonderful words of self-assertion come before us as equally historical with the others from which the author draws in his construction of the teaching of Christ; and it is arbitrariness to set aside the one class as unhistorical while the genuineness of the others is accepted. Besides, it is utterly unintelligible how His followers could afterwards speak of Him in the exalted language they used so freely if they had not received from Him originally words that pointed to His Divine origin and unique function, impressions of His Greatness, that rendered the words of faith they applied to Him the utterance of sober truth.

We find that we are right in the inference we have drawn from the silence of our author regarding the claim Christ made on His own behalf, when we pass on to the fourth lecture on the "Primitive Christian Community," in which the author relates the process by which the primitive believers came to believe in Christ as an exalted supernatural Person. This consisted, it would seem, of two stages: first, they convinced themselves that He who had been crucified was risen and living. This process of self-conviction took place in Galilee. The so-called appearances about the grave in Jerusalem are dismissed as belonging to a later form of the legend of His Resurrection. The mysterious visions happened in Galilee under the influence of the old associations in which the disciples found themselves, and they were inspired by their own longing, affectionate hearts. Once they had persuaded themselves that He was risen, they advanced by quick steps to the most exalted conceptions of their Master. This was the second stage. The glory of the Resurrec-

tion cast its reflection back on His earthly life, and "under such illumination that life obtained more and more supernatural colour and content" (p. 125). Thus are we to explain the creation of the narratives of the Transfiguration and the Baptism and other such supernatural elements in the evangelical record. Thus arose that *epic representation* of Christ that appealed to the imagination of the mass of the Christian communities, and that would be much "more sympathetically related to their souls than the dogmatic speculation about Christ that was now commencing" (p. 135). We see what an important part in this theory was played by faith (or illusion?) in the Christian beginnings. Faith created the *Risen* Christ, and then it created the *supernatural* Christ of the Gospels; and when we bear in mind the "large place ascribed to the dogmatic tendency that began to operate so soon on the tradition," and to transform the historical, we seem to be entirely at sea as to what of the narrative is left that we can reckon on as possessing a real historical value.

In the following three lectures (v. to vii.) we are called to witness the process by which dogmatic speculation, to be traced to the influence of the Jewish and Greek philosophy, effected the transformation of the historical Christ into the Christ of theology. In his lectures on Paul's theology, our author finds himself on familiar ground. Few expounders of Paulinism have done more or better than he in the elucidation of this subject. As is known to readers of his former works, he regards Paul's conception of Christianity as moulded by the Jewish theology both in its Alexandrian and Palestinian forms. The influence on Paul's apprehension of Christianity, of terms and modes of thought that are borrowed from these sources, is, I think, undoubted; and the fact must be taken into account more than is yet the case in our dogmatic systems. But Dr Pfeiderer, I think, exaggerates the extent of this influence. Take one instance. Paul, he says, teaches the doctrine of the heavenly pre-existence of Christ, and this doctrine is said by him to have been borrowed from, or to be a Christian rendering of, the doctrine of the heavenly man in Philo's writings (p. 162-4). It may be freely admitted that Paul's *language* is taken from that source. But with the apostle it is the *Risen* Christ who is spoken of as the second or heavenly man, and not, as with Philo, the ideal, existent prior to the earthly man. Paul sees realised in the Risen Spiritual Christ the full idea of humanity as the Son of God, in whose image believers are to be fashioned. He applies the term *heavenly man* to set forth a religious truth regarding the *Risen* Christ, and His relation to those who are one with Him, a totally different thing from the speculative use which Philo makes of it to denote a pre-existent ideal. Our author also traces the influences

of the Palestinian theology on Paul's doctrine of the atonement. What he says here is deserving of serious consideration. Our decision of the matter must depend on the value we are to attach to the author's account of the theology of the Jewish schools, as it bears on the subject. Till we know how far Weber's work on it is to be trusted, we are scarcely in a position to judge of Paul's dependence on alien modes of thought in his rationale of the work of Christ. Paul's doctrine of Atonement and Justification, as far as the Jewish juristic form of it is concerned, as well as the Hellenistic mythological form of his Christology, belong, Pfleiderer concludes, "to what is transitory in his teaching, which can no longer claim any binding authority over us" (p. 171.) The profound idea that lies hid under the Jewish idea of the atonement in Paul's writings is "that idea which, since the Gospel of Jesus, forms the kernel of Christian truth, the eternal law of the Divine order of salvation, 'Die and live again!'" (p. 172). Our author does justice to the important place this truth has in the theology of the apostle; but we fail to see what power this truth can have in the religious life of men, if the spiritual Christ is nothing more than a "product of religious speculation," if there is no living Christ to repeat in us, by His spirit, the process of dying and living again, by which man reaches his true life. Idealism will not help us here.

In the chapter on "Jewish and Christian Hellenism" the author unfolds the development of Christian ideas in the New Testament as affected by Greek philosophy, especially by the logos conception and other kindred ideas that come from the writings of Philo. The most important documents in the New Testament that exhibit this influence are the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Gospel of John. The entire framework of thought in the former, and its leading ideas are referred to Philo and the Alexandrian book of Wisdom; and as for the Gospel of John, "the whole religious view of the world in that Gospel is based upon Philo;" neither is it in any sense a historical writing, but a didactic treatise "which has invested its theological thoughts, drawn from Paul and Philo, in the form of a life of Jesus" (p. 239). "It was the Hellenistic theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Gospel of John that first took the step of elevating Christ above all that is creaturely into the Divine nature, and setting Him as the eternal mediator of all Divine Revelation in opposition to the world" (p. 240). In the following lecture on the "Christianity of the Alexandrian Fathers," the course of speculation passes under review that under the "established assumption that the Divine life is a personal God-Being in distinction to the Father-God, led to those insoluble difficulties which have been fixed in unthinkable formulæ by the decrees of the Councils of the Church, and which have been made a law of belief for

Christendom" (p. 283). The interest at stake in all the controversies of that period was a religious one. What the Church wished was unquestionably "the vindication of the central Christian truth, the union of God and man in the religious personality of Christ. But this new principle could only be expressed by the Church by the means and under the presuppositions of the dualistic way of thinking of that age. Instead of recognising the union of the Divine and the human in the religious personality of Christ as a spiritual fact of such a kind that it is similarly reproduced in the faith of the Christians, and consequently becomes an actually knowable object of our Christian experience, there was put in the front a Divine person wholly incomparable with our person who had come down from the heavenly heights, had united Himself in an unique and inconceivable manner with humanity, and after the episode of an earthly life, had returned again to a heavenly world" (p. 285). These extracts will suffice to show the extent of Dr Pfeiderer's divergence from orthodoxy in respect of his Christological views. Whether he has done justice to the New Testament writers in practically identifying their teachings on the Person of Christ with the later Church doctrine; whether these writers can fairly be regarded as having laid the lines along which the speculative thought of the following centuries travelled till it reached the decisions that are formulated in the ecclesiastical councils, or whether the doctrine of Christ and His apostles is capable of a re-statement in forms of thought reflecting more faithfully the religious significance of the Personality of Christ, while avoiding the intellectual difficulties, and even contradictions, in which the Church dogma is involved—are questions that are pertinent, that are raised by the perusal of these lectures, and that certainly call for an answer from theologians. I do not attempt to answer them. I only will add that it seems to me inconceivable that such an expenditure of thought and sanctified genius as history shows us was directed to this high theme could ever have taken place, on the truth of Dr Pfeiderer's supposition that there was nothing supernatural about the origin and nature of Jesus, that He was no other than an ordinary man. Was the Church all along mistaken, and under an illusion in ascribing to Him so sublime an origin, so unique a rank in the world of intelligences? Apart altogether from the claim Christ makes on His own behalf, the experience of what He proves Himself to be in the religious life of believers claims for Him a place and function in relation to God and man that no other can share with Him. Speculation may have stumbled in the effort it made to interpret that experience, and to express it in intellectual formulæ. But the fact remains, a religious good of infinite value has come to us by Christ, and that fact justifies faith in ascribing to Him a supreme

and absolute worth and the right to a worship and love of the soul of which God is the proper object.

The last two lectures are on the "Christianity of Augustine" and the "Christianity of Luther and Protestantism." They are full of instructive matter, which I must pass over.

In closing, I give an extract from the last paragraph of the book, which it is only fair to the author to quote, as we gather from it that the author has undertaken this criticism of orthodox theology in the interest of a reform of doctrine. "The church which carries back its origin to the Reformation, that product of the free activity of the personal consciousness, cannot renounce the right and dare not withdraw from the duty incumbent upon it to reform its faith ever from time to time, and to liberate itself from the fetters into which the theoretical thinking of past stages of culture has cast it. It may be a difficult task to recast the faith of the Reformation in harmony with the knowledge of our time; but it cannot be an insoluble one, for in the freedom of the conscience which is bound to God, and in the insisting on personal experience of saving truth, Protestantism already inherently contains the germs which only need further development and more rigorous logical treatment in detail to lead to such a new formation of our Christian faith as will stand in harmony with the secular knowledge of the present, and no longer exact from us any sacrifice of reason" (pp. 354-5).

DAVID SOMERVILLE.

The Psalms at Work.

Being the English Church Psalter, with a few short notes on the use of the Psalms, gathered together by Charles L. Marson, Curate of S. Mary's, Soho. London: Elliot Stock, 1894. 8vo, pp. 226. Price, 6s.

MR MARSON'S work on the Psalter is not a contribution either to scientific or to popular exegesis. It is founded upon the Prayer-Book version; and its aim is to exhibit the influence of the Psalms on the mind of Christendom. As the author himself expresses it, its purpose is to set forth the greatness and beauty of the Psalter, "not by the tedious Homily, but by that antiphonal method which makes a landscape seem doubly beautiful when it is reflected in a clear lake." He has brought to his task wide and varied reading in Literature and History, and his gatherings, as he terms them, are presented in a very graceful and attractive style. A High Churchman, he employs the ecclesiastical phraseology of his school, and he is careful to note with regard to every Psalm, its liturgical use in the

English, Latin, and Greek Communions. Some of the best notes in the volume are on the employment of the Psalms during the Middle Ages. Alone of the books of the Bible, the Psalms were familiarly known to men during that period—every man of religion carrying his Psalter—and their words of strong defiance and of tender trust were often upon men's lips. Some of the Psalms indeed may be regarded as historical documents of the Middle Ages, for they exercised an influence at least as great as that of its Law-Books or Charters. Psalm xxix., as Mr Marson notes, was sung at the baptism of Clovis, and of Ethelbert, and of other illustrious converts from Paganism. Psalm xx. was employed by the Byzantines as a battle-cry against the Infidels; and Psalm xcv. was the battle-song of the Knights Templar, for whom war was an act of worship. The first verse of Psalm cxliv. was a common inscription upon sword blades. Mr Marson has a useful note on those Psalms which are commonly called Vindictive. The word, he writes, has only lately acquired the meaning of studied malice. "Vindication," according to the teaching of St Thomas Aquinas, was opposed to savagery and cruelty on the one hand, and to carelessness about evil on the other.

The Penitential Psalms were not less used in the Middle Ages than the Battle Songs, for religious men alternated between fierce outbursts of anger and moods of deep penitence. Of the greatest of these Psalms, the 51st, Mr Marson writes:—"It has been *the* Psalm to many of the sternest and most active-minded men; for instance, St Bernard, who heard its cadences as the first prelude to his monastic life, and loved it best. Indeed, when Dante saw the heavenly rows of saints round God's throne, St Bernard pointed out Ruth to him as 'the ancestress of him who wrote the *Miserere*.' The same Dante heard it in Purgatory, chanted by the spirits of those who had delayed repentance till their violent death. Hardly any holy men died on a deathbed, or at a scaffold, or at a stake without breathing out the unworn passion of that great prayer."

Many of Mr Marson's notes are upon single verses which became associated with great moments in the history of nations or individuals. He recalls, for example, in connection with the words of Psalm lxxiii., *Thou dost set them in slippery places*, that Gregory the Great applied them to himself as a Pope immersed in the affairs of this world. It was the last clause of the first verse of Psalm lxxxii., *God is Judge among the gods*, that decided Constantine not to act as umpire among the clergy at the Council of Nicæa—the resolution was very imperfectly kept—because he regarded the gods as meaning the clergy. The first Papal Legates who came to England, to claim Papal Supremacy used the fourteenth verse of Psalm cv. *He reproved kings for their sake*, as an instance of the superiority of

the ecclesiastical over the civil jurisdiction; while the following verse, *Touch not mine anointed*, was, as every one knows, the watchword of the Royalists during the civil wars of the Commonwealth. But Mr Marson reminds us that the application was not new, for the Bishop of Carlisle pointed it out to Henry IV. in a manful speech in behalf of Richard II., for which he was promptly consigned to the dungeons St Alban's Abbey.

Mr Marson's illustrations are by no means confined to instances of the influence of the Psalms on religious life within those Churches which he would recognise as portions of the Church Catholic. Many examples are derived from the Reformation period, and from the annals of Nonconformists. Calvin, Beza, and Richard Baxter are to be found side by side with Anselm and Laud. A writer on devotional literature becomes a religious liberal whether he will or not, for it is impossible when speaking of prayers and hymns, to give heed to those walls of partition which dogmatists and ecclesiastics have erected to separate Christians. Good men may and will differ about creed and polity, but they become one when they open their lips to sing and pray to God.

Another feature which deserves notice in this volume, is the frequent reference to the use made of the Psalms by artists and men of letters. As great poems they naturally appealed to poets, who often echo their words; but they also showed their power over artists, although to a less extent, for they do not so readily lend themselves to the pictorial art owing to their want of historical surroundings. Mr Marson writes of Psalm cl.: "It is, thanks to this Psalm above others, that the use of instrumental music has been continuously preserved in the Church, although some of the severer Fathers looked upon it with distrust. It is one of the Psalms in which not only Christian musicians but artists of all sorts delight. Fra Angelico, for instance, so often refers to it that we may call it his favourite Psalm. His well-known 'Angels of the Tabernacle,' the dances of the Blessed in the 'Day of Judgment,' and the musical instruments in the Uffizzi Madonna, Orcagna's 'Day of Judgment,' Raphael's 'St Cecilia,' and countless other pictures illustrate the same."

Mr Marson rarely leaves himself open to unfavourable criticism; for he writes as a scholar and with sobriety and good taste. Some of his illustrations are legendary rather than historical, but he usually gives some hint when he makes use of a doubtful source. He ought not, however, to have spoken of the apostasy of Origen, as he does twice; for the story rests upon no credible authority, and is almost certainly an invention of the enemies of the great Alexandrian. It is also a mistake, we think, to class Theodore of Mopsuestia with the mystics. No writer of the age was less mystical than Theodore,

who was, with Chrysostom, one of the leaders of the liberal and rational school of Antioch, which opposed the mystical interpretations of the Alexandrians with the weapons of grammar and logic.

JOHN GIBB.

Christianity and Evolution.

By James Iverach, M.A., D.D., Professor of Apologetics and Exegesis of the Gospels in the Free Church College, Aberdeen. "The Theological Educator" Series. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1894. Pp. 232. Price, 2s. 6d.

EVOLUTION, as Professor Iverach says, is in the air, and the idea permeates all departments of scientific study and research. Darwin indicates in his *Origin of Species* that his predecessors had already accumulated abundant evidence of the *fact* of evolution, but what was needed to give the hypothesis currency was an explanation of *how* the evolution of species was brought about. His merit lay in supplying this *desideratum* in his theory of Natural Selection. Undoubtedly it was the impression made by this theory, set forth so plausibly, and with such captivating abundance of illustration, in the work in question, which effectively turned the public judgment in favour of evolution; but the curious thing is that while the conviction of the *fact* of evolution has since grown and strengthened till it has become practically universal, it is precisely the sufficiency of this explanation of Darwin's which has come more and more into doubt. Not the least telling part of this book of Professor Iverach's—as of Dr Stirling's and many other works of criticism—is that in which he marshals the objections against the all-sufficiency of Natural Selection as an explanation of organic evolution, and shows how immensely exaggerated are the claims often set up for it. Beginning thus as a theory applicable to the organic world, evolution has now spread into all spheres of thought, and is believed to furnish the master-key for the right comprehension of each department of science, and of the cosmos as a whole. There need be no attempt to disparage the brilliancy or fruitfulness of many of these efforts to extend the range of the principle of evolution, nor is any tendency of this kind discernible in Professor Iverach's book. But it is impossible not to recognise—indeed the conflicts and disagreements of evolutionists among themselves force it on our notice—that the claims of the evolutionary philosophy are often stretched beyond all reasonable bounds, and that a great deal of vagueness and ambiguity lurks in the terms employed, as well as in the uses made of them. Evolution, too, has been confidently carried into the spheres of

psychology, of ethics, and of religion, in a way, and with a sweep-
ingness, which it may be contended the facts do not warrant, and
sound philosophy will not justify. All this, irrespective of the
bearings of the new theories on Christian theology, makes a careful
examination of evolutionary doctrines in their alleged scientific
bases, their leading assumptions, and their principal applications,
exceedingly desirable; and it is this task which Professor Iverach
has here so ably taken in hand. His work—though compressed
within 232 pages—is packed full of suggestive statements and
criticism. The reader is struck at once with the author's mastery
of the field, and of the literature connected with it; but while
there is ample quotation, the chief feature of the book is the firm
hold taken throughout of the principles involved, and the close
searching, persistent examination to which every doubtful assertion
is subjected. Whether in discussing the theory of beginnings in
“the primitive nebulousity”; or the bearings of the “nebular
hypothesis” on the theistic argument; or the adequacy of evolution
to explain the rational character of the relations involved in chemis-
try; or the supposed conflict of evolution with teleology; or the
relation of evolution to creation; or the theories of organic evolution
and the adequacy of Natural Selection; or the controversy between
Spencer and Weismann on heredity; or the evolutionary explana-
tion of man's mental, moral, and religious life; or the competency
of this theory to explain the ethical ideal of Christianity; or its
bearings on the doctrine of Revelation, as in its own way subject to
a law of evolution, yet involving supernatural factors, Professor
Iverach is equally at home. It may be observed that the outcome
of the book is to show that while evolution is a reality, its power
of explanation is limited, and that, so far as scientifically established,
it conflicts neither with theism, nor with the distinctive spiritual
nature of man, nor with supernatural Revelation. The theory only
becomes untenable when it claims to be all-embracing. Space
forbids us to quote, as we would gladly have done, some passages
which seemed to us specially fine and acute in their criticism, but
careful readers will speedily discover many such for themselves.

JAMES ORR.

The Spiritual World.

By the Rev. Alfred Cave, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton.
8vo, pp. 250. Price 5s.

HERE we have another book from Dr Cave's busy study. It binds
together a number of lectures of different quality, and addressed to
different kinds of hearers, and is divided into two parts, whereof

the first is argumentative, and the second may perhaps be called expository. It is with the former part that the student will feel himself chiefly concerned. In it the author sets himself to lay broad and solid foundations for Theology by demonstrating the reality of that great Spiritual World wherein religion has its home, and the phenomena of which furnish the subject-matter for the theologian.

And, first of all, he confronts the whole attack upon the citadels of faith which is made in the name of a metaphysic which confines our knowledge to that of the Subjective. He assaults the Kantianism of the Ritschlian school and refuses all their championship of religion, maintaining that unless the old Hamiltonian position is held, and we insist that in Perception—whether of things physical or spiritual—we know at once the perceiving Subject and the perceived Object, we have no grounds for certainty and lie at the mercy of the Agnostic argument. He does not counsel his reader to seek an escape from that argument along the Hegelian road, but he encourages him to look for safety in those Scottish positions which can scarcely be called philosophical at all, though they may be entitled to the sanctions of experience and common sense.

Dr Cave holds up as a warning the Ritschlians who have turned their backs upon metaphysics, and urges that the permanence of our faith in the Unseen is bound up with our philosophical soundness in the doctrine of Perception. But, as the argument proceeds, it becomes plain to the reader that the one point in which Dr Cave agrees with Scottish philosophy is in its appeal from the metaphysician to the robust convictions of "the man in the street." He passes by J. S. Mill's destructive examination of Hamilton's philosophy without attempting to answer it, and is apparently willing to be thought of as belonging to that Scottish school which Professor Veitch still leads. But in reality Dr Cave forsakes it and takes his stand with the Transcendentalist, who concedes the impossibility of maintaining that we have that immediate cognition of the external object for which Hamilton contended, and who seeks an escape from the extreme positions of Idealism in a faith that the phenomena that are given in consciousness are symbols of realities outside consciousness, which we can never reach or know in themselves. That Dr Cave walks by faith and not by cognition in his "Philosophy of Perception" is clear. Thus he says, on p. 61, "When I make so simple a statement as that 'this sky is blue,' or 'that water is clear,' my ultimate authority is really my faith in my perception."

Would it not be more satisfactory in all religious Apologetic if we frankly acknowledged that we really have not got a presentable

theory of perception, and that we must do as best we can without one? The Scotchman would perhaps be well enough in what he has to say about perception if only he would not think himself a metaphysician when he says it, and if he would be content modestly to urge that along with the subjective condition of consciousness he has an *insurmountable conviction* that there exists an objective cause of it; and if, further, he would own that this conviction transcends the evidence, when that evidence is tested in the court of pure Cognition.

Dr Cave seems to the present writer effectively to occupy this strong transcendental position. From it he forcibly urges that the evidence for the objective reality of spiritual things is as sound as that for the reality of physical. The great affirmations concerning the reality of the Non-ego, without which experience is a hopeless tangle, approve themselves to the widest and sanest intelligence, and the metaphysician will always have to reckon with them. And this less ambitious view of the subject leaves room, as Dr Cave's avowed philosophy hardly does, for the element of illusion which is so prominent in human experience.

It is difficult to see what advantage is gained by our author's division of perceptions into the *three* kinds—those of the external world, of the internal, and of the spiritual. Is not the old division of the universe into an Ego and a Non-ego adequate; and is not our knowledge of the spiritual things of God gained in the same way as our knowledge of the spirit that resides in our brother-man? In both cases we are led by signs, and by analogies with our own actions, to the conclusion. Moving forward then from his affirmation of the reality of spiritual things, Dr Cave contends in Lecture IV. that there is room for a real science of theology, and he deprecates as foolish the conflict between Religion and Science. And truly no scientific man would dispute the propriety of a *psychology of religion*; but Dr Cave expects him to recognise that the theologian is handling *facts* when he deals with "revelations" made by God, whether "general or specific." By the former he means man's religious intuitions, whilst as examples of the latter he names Old Testament prophecy, and the facts concerning the birth, life, death, and resurrection of Jesus. But it is plain that many scientific men will decline to regard as "foolish" their conflict with theologians on many of these points. They are quite ready for a scientific discussion of the contents of the Christian consciousness, but they are by no means prepared to admit as scientific the current Christian interpretation of those contents. They believe that neither science nor common-sense justifies the Christian in even his first step towards a theistic inference from them.

Dr Cave is on more solid ground when in his second lecture he

affirms and illustrates that deep conviction of the reality of the spiritual world which shines in its own light in the lives of spiritual men, and which in the past has confounded every philosophy that has opposed it. He speaks here of faith, and not any longer of perception, as the organ of the spiritual world, and he defines faith as *the confidence which we have in our spiritual perceptions*. In the third lecture he still occupies this ground, and cites the sacred books, the Christian consciousness, and the Church as witnesses to the reality of the spiritual world. He has given no philosophical exposition of this confidence, nor of the cogency of this testimony, but here he only fails where all fail; and his book still leaves us to repeat with our fathers those words of the writer to the Hebrews, which our author has Englished thus:—"Faith is our confidence in our spiritual hopes, our conviction of the realities unseen."

The second part of the book is much slighter, and the exposition has an amplitude which, though perhaps permissible in oral delivery, is a serious blemish in a book. Five of the seven addresses constitute the "Ancient Merchants' Lecture" for 1893, and bear the title, "The Gospel for To-day." They are conversational in tone, and make no tax on the hearer. The first two contend that Jesus laid all the emphasis of his preaching on the existence and nearness of the spiritual world. The third deals with the place that the doctrine of the atonement should take in the preacher's work. Our author, as his readers will expect, frankly accepts the whole genesis and early history of man as the Bible presents it, and then treats of the atonement as the organ of the development and redemption of this infantile and then rebellious creature. The next lecture gives counsel concerning the preacher's use of the Bible, and here, as ever, Dr Cave has all the courage of his opinions, and utters a blast of defiance to the onset of the Higher Critics. E. ARMITAGE.

Monuments of Early Christianity.

The Apology and Acts of Apollonius, &c., edited with a General Preface, Introductions, Notes, &c., by F. C. Conybeare, M.A., late Fellow of University College, Oxford. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1894. 8vo, pp. viii. 360. Price, 10s. 6d.

For some time past scholars, both classical and theological, have been made aware that a new worker was opening up a new source of information as to the long vanished past. The worker is Mr Conybeare, and the organon he uses is his fine mastery of the Armenian language, in which alone survives a large mass of ancient

literature derived from the Greek, often through the medium of the Syriac. In the present instance the quarry drawn upon—one containing materials of very different values—is the repertory of select martyrdoms published at the Armenian monastery of San Lazzaro, in Venice, in the year 1874. Though parallel in most cases to similar Acts, whether in Latin, Greek, or Syriac, this collection, as a rule, seems to preserve the more original form of a type of literature notoriously liable to grow by constant re-adaptation to new environments of doctrine, feeling, and practice. Indeed, the colophon of the Armenian Acts of Athanagines puts this with charming frankness, when it states that its redactor “on paper made orthodox all that was said.”

Our editor explains at the outset that his object is “to give the reader, in a succession of vivid pictures or glimpses, an insight into the practical working of Christianity during the first three centuries of its history.” This hits off aptly enough his own attitude and interest in the matter, which are those of the cultured *littérateur* with an eye for the vivid and picturesque, rather than those of the exact historian whose passion is for the truth of proportion and discrimination. But it is very far from describing what the book actually contains. As he himself remarks, “the best fruits of Christianity were of course reaped not in these crises” of martyr-agony—reported, too, with the heightened colour given partly by admiring friendship and partly by a later love of embellishment—but rather in the patient, self-denying daily life of nameless thousands who have left no distinct trace behind, but who really gave its tone to the Christianity of their day. But further, as long as an author can without misgiving treat the “first three centuries,” seen even through their martyrdoms, as practically homogeneous, and equally fit to mould our conception of the genius of “early” Christianity, so long must his views be taken with reserve and subjected to severe scrutiny. On almost every page the reader is reminded of the maxim *Distinguite*. And whilst one cannot be too grateful to the editor for his services as a translator, one may express the wish that he had been more critical both of the Acts before him, and of his own conception of really primitive Christianity. In the former case the residuary nucleus of most of the Acts would certainly have been simpler than that which he suffers the reader to suppose; and in the latter, he would possibly have reached less original but more trustworthy views, both as to the Christianity of Christ and the apostles, and as to that of the “centre” of the Church prior to the close of the second century. Indeed, an imperfect sense of the developments going on in ante-Nicene Christianity, may go far to explain the comparative absence of criticism touching the strata implied in these stories.

Mr Conybeare is quite aware of the principle of development, especially in an ecclesiastical direction, as at work during the period; and he points out the important fact that the phrase, "the Catholic Church," which has caused some trouble to critics of the *Martyrium Polycarpi*, is totally absent from the form used by the Armenian translator. But none the less he does not seem to have worked himself thoroughly into a clear and consistent view of the successive stages of thought and practice through which the Church passed. The fact is, that we are all too apt to be unduly influenced by new evidence, precisely because it comes to us with the power of fresh insight. And just now the more "enthusiastic" and *outré* aspects of early Christian life and thought, whether in Apocalypses or Acts, are coming to light as never before. This brings with it a danger of unbalanced reaction in our reading of the true genius of Christianity and even of the early Church. But many questions have yet to be settled ere we are free to use our new light promiscuously. To what dates do such phenomena belong? How far do they represent the Christians as a whole, especially those standing in the line of responsible tradition, as opposed to those living under "hole and corner" conditions or amid non-Christian traditions too strong to give the Gospel of Christ a fair chance? When these problems have been sufficiently solved, we shall probably find that the literature through which we have hitherto been wont to judge the Church—the Apostolic Fathers, the Apologists, the early Catholic Fathers—gives us a truer idea of the tone and genius of early Christianity than pictures of the order translated by Mr Conybeare. At any rate, they are the work of more representative persons; and the presumption, spite of the strong "Anabaptist" element vouched for by Montanism and kindred phenomena, is that the new evidence, when sifted, will serve indeed to qualify our present impressions, but not to change them radically. But it would occupy too much space to apply these principles to the criticism of Mr Conybeare's Preface—full as this is of suggestion and food for thought, if also blemished by frequent half-truths and certain gratuitous *obiter dicta*. It is now our pleasanter task to convey some idea of the several pieces contained in this collection.

It was sound judgment to place the *Acts of Apollonius* in the forefront of the volume. Published originally in the *Guardian* of June 21, 1893, they at once attracted the notice and admiration of Professor Harnack, who styled them "the noblest Apology of Christianity which we possess from antiquity." Their essential historicity, apart from some expansion of thoughts into little lectures—*e.g.*, on the vanity of idolatry—is proved by the terse, life-like, and yet restrained character of the dialogue between the martyr and the

Prefect Perennis. They agree too with the epitome given by Eusebius (v. 21), except in the one point, the breaking of the informer's legs, where Eusebius' account had already been felt to be dubious.¹ This gem of the collection is most fully annotated by the editor, who here has had Harnack's monograph to draw upon. On the *Acts of Paul and Thekla*, which follow, three remarks must suffice. The Armenian practically confirms Professor Ramsay's recent criticism of the current form of the Acts, and his preference of the Syriac to the Greek text; Thekla was evidently a very favourite exemplar to later virgin martyrs, though the Greek Acts omit such references to a person who came to be regarded as of dubious orthodoxy; as even the Armenian contains the story of Thekla's burning, which Conybeare nevertheless rejects, he does not seem justified in insisting (against Ramsay) on its extreme doctrine of Virginity as historical and as a proper standard for the exegesis of Paul's attitude (e.g. in 1 Cor. vii. 25, ff.).

Passing now to the less-known martyrdoms, it will be best to arrange them, as far as may be, in their chronological order rather than in that which they hold in the present volume. The *Acts of Phocas* assign the death of this simple-minded "shepherd of a spiritual flock" to the reign of Trajan and the proconsulate of a certain Africanus, presumably one of Pliny's successors. They are cast in the form of a collective letter, like that containing Polycarp's martyrdom, only in this case addressed to a whole circle of Churches in Pontus-Bithynia, if not in other adjacent provinces likewise. As they stand they are certainly unprimitive. But an original nucleus seems probable; and this may possibly have ended with the trial before Africanus—that before Trajan being tacked on by means of a miracle, though parts of this dialogue, too, are not repugnant to general probability. With the former view the brief Latin form given in Ruinart, and in which Phocas appears as an agriculturalist (*hortulanus*), would seem best to accord: the character of the man in both is at least very similar. The *Acts of Thalelaeus* seem clearly to exemplify "the tendency there was to defer the death of a popular saint," so that he might appear to have suffered in the persecution of which

¹ Harnack seems inclined to accept this fate of the informer (presumably a slave) as a fact; seeing in it a hint that Commodus was already influenced by Marcia towards discouraging information against Christians. On this assumption he supposes that Perennis tried but failed to get from the Senate a decree exempting Apollonius (a Senator) from a capital penalty. Mr Hardy, in his recent *Christianity and the Roman Government* (p. 207), thinks that this is to antedate Marcia's interference; and explains the reference to the Senate more as a "show of deference," early in the reign, on the part of the "Vice-emperor" Perennis under the "somewhat exceptional circumstances." Such a position is strengthened if we read Tarruntenus (who assisted Perennis as Prefect till 188 A.D.) instead of Perennis. See Addenda, p. 353.

the recollection was uppermost in men's minds." If this principle, traceable also in the inconsistent datings involved in the *Acts of Eugenia*, be allowed, there is no difficulty in setting aside "Numerian" in the exordium, in favour of the name Hadrian, introduced quite incidentally in the body of the Acts. Our editor finds confirmation of this in the relations implied between Edessa and Aigai on the south-east coast of Cilicia, where the scene is laid. But yet another proof may be adduced. The hero says, "I am from Lebanon, and have believed in the Galilean, and am a friend of those of Jerusalem; . . . I am by profession a physician, and have become a deacon of John the Bishop." Now Eusebius (H.E. iv. 5) names a John seventh on the list of fifteen "bishops of the circumcision" prior to 135 A.D. But as Symeon, the second of these, is said to have been martyred late in Trajan's reign, there is no difficulty in making this John fall under Hadrian, hard though it be to bring his episcopate under the conventional type. Here, then, would seem to be a noteworthy coincidence with our Acts. And though these are clearly interpolated, yet there is the true ring about words like, "I believe in God that is Ruler of all, that He putteth not to shame those who trust in Him in Christ, and those who for His Name come to bear this testimony" (p. 245).

After these two we come to the reign of Commodus, which is the earliest date possible for the nucleus of the *Acts of Eugenia*, parts of which seem to belong to the time of Gallus at least (251-3), and to be due to a late recension of the story about 280 A.D. It presents several points of interest, especially in relation to the rise of monastic institutions in Lower Egypt; but on these we cannot now dwell. The *Acts of Polyeuctes* purport to refer to Melitene and to "the days of Decius and Valerian, in the East, during the first persecution." Unless this conjunction points simply to dominant influence on the part of Valerian, to whom the censorship was offered, even under Decius, we must accept Mr Conybeare's view that "such a confusion could not be contemporary." And indeed it is clear, both from the aggressive and harsh tone of the martyr, and from the frequent use of words like "mystery" and "ineffable" in relation to Christian faith, that our redaction is later than the third century. Still here again an earlier basis is not impossible. And much the same may be said of the *Martyrdom of Codratius* (Quadratus), also placed under Decius and Valerian. The place of suffering was Nicomedia, if we may follow the Menologion of Basil Porphyrogenitus and then assume that our Acts, which make the proconsul drag the martyr along with him on his progress through his province, have added to the original account. The correctness of the topography is hardly a final argument against such a view.

But in any case it is interesting to find Codratius citing Homer (*Il.* ii. 204) to point his moral and adorn his case.

Of the rest we may simply note in passing the martyrdoms of Demetrius at Thessalonica under Maximianus, of Theodore at Heraclea in Cappadocia under Licinius, and of Hiztibouzit in Persia under Chosrow I. about 574 A.D. This last illustrates the Persian fire-worship of the sixth century. But there are features about the *Acts of Callistratus*, referring probably to the age of Diocletian and to Rome as their scene, which merit some further notice, for they are typical at once of the growth of such *Acta* and of our editor's attitude. The *Acts* themselves are an excellent proof of how deeply we must distrust the form in which Simeon, the tenth-century Metaphrast, presents his narratives. And further, they contain explicit reference to the original nucleus of the story, possibly the official *Acta*, in the remark that "this history was written in the Roman tongue, and thus it is that the words were pronounced by those who knew the language and translated them (into Greek?) and gave them to us; and we, without alteration, sent them on to all places," &c. But our editor has made these *Acts* the peg on which to hang certain views as to delicate problems which seem to be ill-considered, to use no stronger term. First, indeed, he truly remarks that good results might be expected from a collection and comparison of all passages in trustworthy martyrdoms relating to the diffusion of New Testament Scriptures. But surely it is a hasty judgment as to such diffusion, to gather from a touch to the effect that the hero's ancestral faith went back to his great grandfather who had witnessed the Crucifixion and Resurrection, that "in many regions, down to even late in the third century, the Christian tenets passed on from father to son *not through books*, but by oral tradition"; or when he infers from a single dubious reference in Cyprian, that "the Synoptic Gospels were not known in Africa before the third century." To what purpose, too, is it to note that "Callistratus refers to the Gospel of John, but not to the Synoptics." Surely we here see a good scholar spoiling his reputation by going off his proper beat: and there is hardly a sentence in the next half page and more which does not stand in need of revision. When, too, we pass to other topics involving nice exegesis, similar feelings are awakened. Premising that *μάρτυς* seems to bear its secondary sense of "a Christian confessor who has shed his blood for the faith," in *Acts* xxii. 20; *Rev.* xvii. 6; *iii.* 14 (? *ii.* 13), and perhaps *Heb.* xii. 1, he quietly observes that, "perhaps the *Acts*, and *Revelation*, and *Hebrews* were not written till the end of the first century." Now, waving all doubts as to the sense here put on *μάρτυς*, surely the inference as to *Hebrews* at least is all too hasty. Then, again, we are assured that "dynamite and ex-

plosions apart, the Christians of this first age resembled the most extreme of the Russian nihilists, and it cannot be denied that the Roman government had as good grounds for trying to eradicate them as the Russian has for trying to make an end of nihilists." If for nihilists we read Stundists, there might be truth in the parallel; though, even so, it would need to be limited to certain circles to really hold. Something has already been said on the general causes of the lack of perspective seemingly implied in *dicta* like these; and a detailed criticism of the statements on which they are based, though easy to make, would occupy too much space.

But two *caveats* and we are done. Let no reader suppose that our author's "vigour and rigour" of judgment always reposes on the consensus of scientific historians; rather let him rest assured that there is an unusually large personal factor in many of his most striking equations. Nevertheless, let none doubt that there is, even in Mr Conybeare's estimate of "early" Christianity, an element to be reckoned with; while for his services as a translator on this as on former occasions, our heartiest appreciation is richly due.

VERNON BARTLET.

Vie de Jacob Vernet, Théologien, Genevois 1698-1789.

Par E. de Budé. Lausanne: Bridel et Cie. Pp. 304.

Price, F. 3.50.

THE life of Jacob Vernet could not be better summarised than in the short eulogium recorded after his death in the registers of the Venerable Company of the Pastors of Geneva, in these words:—"Vernet, a man of rare talents, fulfilled his diverse functions in a manner equally useful and honourable. As a pastor the churches which he served hold him in tender remembrance. As a preacher his sermons were equally edifying, instructive, and solid. As a writer he published a great many interesting works. At the age of ninety he published the tenth volume of his treatise on *The Truth of the Christian Religion*. In the discourses which he pronounced as Rector, he showed himself the worthy head of our Academy. As Professor of Belles-lettres, and subsequently of Theology, a great number of the members of this Company remember with feelings of tender respect that they were his disciples. Till the close of his long and noble career, he was a model of activity, zeal, moderation, prudence, and the closing years of his life seemed to bring new energy to his soul." His determination to embrace the pastorate was occasioned by a touching incident. Having accompanied Benedict Pictet to the bedside of an aged and dying woman,

his childish curiosity led him to remain in the adjoining room, in order to hear the pastor. "His words," says he, "and especially his prayer, overpowered my soul; the distressed countenance of the invalid, which became calm little by little, and assumed a celestial expression, impressed me indescribably, and I resolved to devote myself to that ministry the blessings of which are so visible upon those who are suffering."

After finishing his theological studies, Vernet passed nine years in Paris as private tutor, and returned to Geneva in 1729, when he was ordained. During the first part of his career he enjoyed the consideration of all who knew him, "being cherished by his people, happy in his family, consulted by foreign savants, and receiving flattering testimonies of esteem and encouragement." The latter part was sadly embittered by controversies which only a sense of duty could have made one who was essentially "an apostle of peace," undertake. "He desired peace for himself, for his church, for his country; hence his extreme tolerance and his repugnance to confessions of faith."

Vernet's theology, without being Socinian, can hardly be called evangelical. "It was," says M. de Budé, "a sort of synthesis of what his two masters, J. A. Turretine and Benedict Pietet, professed. He has the varied learning, the love of liberty in dogmatic matters which characterised the former, and the fervour, the piety, the unction, which made the essential merit, and, at the same time, the charm of the latter." If he did not preach the Gospel in all its fulness, he earnestly contended for the truth as far as he understood it, and this it was which brought him into collision with Voltaire, Rousseau, and the Encyclopædists.

At one time Voltaire, whom he had met in Paris, was on very friendly terms with him. But, after he had settled near Geneva, he published statements regarding Geneva and Calvin which were manifestly untrue. Vernet was appointed to refute these assertions, which were renewed by d'Alembert in the Encyclopædia at the instigation of Voltaire. Instead of answering Vernet's refutation, Voltaire published a vile libel, which he distributed all over Geneva, entitled *Christian Dialogues, or a Preservative against the Encyclopædia, by M. V. at Geneva*, as if to make it appear that Vernet was the author.

This pamphlet¹ begins with some serious pages; and then gradually changes its tone, till Vernet, who is the interlocutor, confesses that he does not believe in God, and declares that all his colleagues are hypocrites or immoral men who are doing their work for the sake of the stipend it brings them. The City Council ordered that all the copies of this libel which could be found should be seized.

¹ See *Voltaire et les Genevois*, p. 126, by M. Gaberel.

and burnt, and so liberally had Voltaire distributed it, that it made a huge bonfire !

After this the fury of Voltaire knew no bounds. He held up to scorn and ridicule as a "Tartuffe," a "sycophant," a "shamefaced Socinian," a "Presbyterian Jesuit," the man to whom he had at one time written "that he preferred his friendship to that of the King of Prussia." When he proposed settling in Geneva, Vernet had written to him a long letter expressing the hope that he would respect the religious principles of the Republic, to which he had replied : "Dear Sir,—What you write in regard to religion is very reasonable. . . . I detest intolerance and fanaticism. . . . I respect your religious laws. . . . I love and respect your Republic. . . . Be kind enough to communicate to your friends the feelings which attach me so tenderly to you." When Vernet was the butt of Voltaire's virulent attack, Rousseau took his part ; but afterwards when the Council ordered the *Émile* to be burnt, Vernet was appointed to refute this work and the *Contrat Social*. Rousseau was completely taken aback. He had expected a defence rather than a refutation from Vernet. From that time he counted him among his enemies. In his Confessions, he says : "Vernet, like the rest of this world, turned his back upon me after I had given him proofs of my attachment which ought to have touched him, if a theologian can be touched by anything."

Vernet also came in contact with Count Zinzendorf, who dedicated to him his book entitled *The Lamb of God*, notwithstanding the expression of Vernet's scruples about accepting this dedication.

This distinguished man died in 1789 at the age of ninety-one. "When he felt his end approaching, he said he was preparing to renew his youth elsewhere." He gently fell asleep repeating these words, "I know whom I have believed."

In publishing the present monograph M. de Budé has added another name to his gallery of Genevese theologians, which already comprised lives of Jean Diodati, François Turretin, Benedict Pictet, and J. A. Turretin.

K. DE FAYE.

Urchristenthum.

Zur Geschichte und Litteratur des Urchristenthums. Von Friedrich Spitta. Erster Band. Göttingen : Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1893. 8vo, pp. i.-vii. 1-340. Price, M. 8.

PROFESSOR SPITTA's best known critical work, *Die Apostelgeschichte : ihre Quellen, &c.*, was reviewed in these pages in April 1892 (p. 168) ; and what was there said of the author's character and method as a

New Testament critic applies equally to the present volume. This work, which announces itself as an *erster Band*—the first, let us hope, of an extended series—consists of four historical and critical essays,—on *The Second Roman Imprisonment of Paul*, the *Second Epistle to the Thessalonians*, on *Certain Misplacements in the Text of the Fourth Gospel*, and on *The Primitive Christian Traditions respecting the Lord's Supper*. Whether one concurs in the particular conclusions arrived at or not, it is a great gain to have the vexed questions of New Testament criticism and early Christian history discussed in full by a scholar so thorough and exact, so clear in exposition, so fertile in hypothesis and combination, and so open-minded and free from party-bias as Dr Spitta manifestly is. The volume is one which requires ample consideration and extended space for an adequate appreciation of its contents. It is closely reasoned and solidly written to an unusual degree; almost every sentence contains a material fact or distinct point of argument. We must content ourselves with a digest of the writer's treatment of the four topics he discusses, acting as reporter rather than reviewer, and renouncing the attempt to canvass in detail the positions which he advances.

I. DIE ZWEIMALIGE RÖMISCHE GEFANGENSCHAFT DES PAULUS (pp. 1-108).

On this question Dr Spitta's lengthened researches have brought him, as Credner and Lightfoot were brought, to the *affirmative* conclusion. He separates the problem entirely from that of the Pastoral Epistles, with which it has been commonly involved to the injury of both. Beginning with the data of the Acts, he finds Paul, up to Acts xxiii. 11, anticipating peril to his life in *Jerusalem* (so in Rom. xv. 30-32), but making his appeal with confidence to Rome; nowhere, either in the words of the apostle or his historian, writing after the events, is there apparent any shadow of the fatal issue which is ascribed, upon the opposite hypothesis, to this appeal. Dr Spitta accepts Schürer's proof that Festus succeeded Felix in 60 (not 61) A.D.; on which it follows that the *diēria* of Acts xxviii. 30 terminated in 63, a year before the Neronian persecution (p. 13).

Examining the Epistle to the Romans, he rebuts the scepticism of Lipsius, who attempted in the *Handcommentar*, so far following Baur, to excise the Spanish passages of chap. xv. Dr Spitta has a new and interesting theory of his own to propound in regard to Romans. He sees in it *two* epistles, addressed by Paul to the same Roman Church, and welded subsequently into "*ein grosses corpus doctrinae*"—the second of which, including chaps. i. 7-12, xii. 1—xv. 7, xvi. 1-20, was written when Paul had been previously at Rome and was well acquainted with the Church,

when in fact he was on the point of revisiting the city in journeying farther west. If this analysis can be made out, we have proof positive of the apostle's release. But it must be understood that the case for the release does not depend on this construction of Romans.

The epistles of the (First) Imprisonment—all sent (including Philippians) from Caesarea, as Professor Spitta maintains, and not from Rome—show that the apostle continued in the same confident mood respecting the issue of his trial which we found pervading the Acts. His thoughts about death in Philippians are traceable to “psychological” rather than external conditions; notwithstanding his “desire to depart,” the apostle “*knows* that he will abide” and be restored to the Churches (chap. i. 25; ii. 24). While Philippians and Colossians-Philemon intimate Paul's intention of revisiting his old mission-fields, Romans xv. (dating, as our author thinks, from a later period) shows that he had formed bold designs for extending his labours far west to Spain.

Whoever wrote the Pastoral Epistles, the personal and local notices of 2 Timothy rest upon a definite and confident tradition, that cannot in the least be accounted for as constructed out of the Acts and the other Pauline letters. These references, as Dr Spitta contends, point decisively to the author's belief in the second Roman captivity, and to the firm establishment of that belief in the earliest orthodox tradition. Two imprisonments are implied, “as dissimilar as 2 Timothy is to Philippians; and as similar as one imprisonment is apt to be to another” (p. 106). Incidentally, Dr Spitta notices the unfavourable light in which Timothy appears in 2 Timothy as compared with Philipplans—a trait very unlike invention. The *πρώτη ἀπολογία* of 2 Tim. iv. 16-18 can only mean, as the Greek interpreters supposed, the apostle's defence on an earlier trial distinct from the present; and the clause *ἵνα . . . τὸ κήρυγμα πληροφορήθῃ καὶ ἀκούσῃ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη* signifies, as plainly as words can, that Paul had by this time fulfilled the ambition of Romans xv. and had preached in Spain—an achievement without which it would have been impossible for him, or for others on his behalf, to suppose his Gentile mission complete (43-47). 1 Tim. i. 3 and Tit. i. 5 and iii. 12 also belong to a tradition of Pauline journeyings outside and independent of the narrative in Acts.

Coming now to post-canonical evidence: in 1 Clement v. 5, the *ἐπτάκις δεσμὰ φορέσας* assumes knowledge of Paul's history from other sources than the New Testament; the expressions “made a herald both in the east and in the west” and, above all, *ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τ. δύσεως ἐλθὼν* cannot, without the greatest perverseness, be supposed to describe from the pen of a Roman writer a career of which Rome was the westward limit. Compare Lightfoot and

Harnack *ad loc.* In his notes our critic (57, 61) characterises as "unverständlich" and "ganz unbegreiflich" certain inferences of Weizsäcker, who deals at times very arbitrarily with his documents. Lipsius also contradicts himself in a way quite unusual in so careful a scholar, when he attributes (*Handcommentar*) the supposed Spanish "interpolations" of Romans xv. to the late "Petrus-sage," and yet elsewhere assumes the tradition of 1 Clement and the Muratorian Canon to be based on Romans xv. The fact is that "Clement assumes the Spanish journey of Paul as matter of common knowledge; and this view, generally current in his time, belonged to the traditions respecting the closing events of this apostle's history which prevailed on the spot where his labours and life terminated" (p. 59). The *Muratorian Canon*, which Dr Spitta accepts in the Greek form so brilliantly restored by Lightfoot, is explicit on the point of the Spanish voyage; and the author infers from the language and context of the reference that its derivation from Romans xv. 24 is improbable. It is a record of the primitive Roman tradition.

Turning to the *Acta Apocrypha*, Professor Spitta traces in their earliest fragmentary (Gnostic) forms a clear tradition of Paul's journey to Spain; and it is this extra-canonical tradition, and not the language of Romans xv., which lies behind the testimony of the Muratorian document. The later Catholic *Passio SS. Petri et Pauli*, in its original Greek form, introduces Paul coming to Rome ἀπὸ Σπανίων. "Surveying the extant apocryphal tradition, we are justified in saying that there scarcely can be a more groundless assertion than to affirm that the Apocrypha witness against a double imprisonment of Paul in Rome. The case is precisely the opposite. Notwithstanding the fact that the separate arrival of Peter and Paul at Rome is, for obvious reasons, transformed into a simultaneous arrival, the old tradition of Paul's Spanish journey maintains its ground" (79).¹ In the Ὑπόμνημα of Symeon Metaphrastes (seventh century), which, as Lipsius suggests, comes probably from a second century source, there are interesting particulars given of the Spanish mission.

Discussing the testimony of Dionysius of Corinth, Dr Spitta points out an obvious mistranslation of Baur, which still holds its ground in "critical" tradition, to the prejudice of the question (82). In pages 82-100 he runs through the evidence of the Fathers—Origen, Dositheus, Eusebius, Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Jerome, Euthalius, Irenæus and Caius—reading it acutely and, as it seems to us, very fairly in favour of the Spanish voyage and second imprisonment. "Hilgenfeld," who takes the opposite side, "rightly observes that in the fourth century it was a usual assumption that

¹ In note 3, p. 73, "permansit" appears to be printed for "permisit."

Paul fulfilled his design of journeying to Spain." When he asserts that this belief first emerges "at the end of the second century" (p. 88), he shuts his eyes to the facts. Von Soden yet more strangely declares (in the *Handcommentar*) that this view appears "in Eusebius for the first time!" (108). All evidence subsequently discovered supports the judgment of Credner: "There cannot be found during the first four centuries a trace of the assumption that Paul did not travel westwards beyond Rome, or that his life ended at the point where the Acts of the Apostles concludes."

In the fifth century the stream of Roman tradition changed its course, and from the time of Pope Gelasius I. the recollections of Paul's activity in the west appear to have died out. This effacement Dr Spitta traces to the growing tendency of the Papal See to exalt Peter and monopolise apostolic renown in his behalf. This disposition finds characteristic expression in the words of a decree of Innocent I.: "cum manifestum sit in omnem Italiam, Gallias, Hispanias, Africam, Siciliam, et insulas interjacentes nullum instituisse ecclesias, nisi eos quos venerabilis apostolus Petrus aut ejus successores constituerint sacerdotes" (102). So Paul has been robbed of his Spanish province to pay Peter! The tradition assigning Spain to St James first appears in the seventh century.

Dr Spitta fills the interval between the two imprisonments by Paul's visitation to the east (as planned in Philippians, &c.), his mission to Spain by way of Rome, and his return again to the regions indicated in 2 Timothy.

II. DER ZWEITE BRIEF AN DIE THESSALONICHER (pp. 111-153).

Here Professor Spitta is not defending an old, but advancing a new hypothesis. Baur condemned both 1 and 2 Thessalonians as unauthentic, affirming them to be "so intimately related" that "whatever verdict criticism pronounces on the one will naturally determine our view of the other." Criticism has rehabilitated the first, but cannot abandon its prejudices against the second epistle. Holtzmann, however, declares in the third edition of his *Einleitung* (p. 216): "The question to-day is, not whether the second epistle should be thrust down into the post-apostolic age, but whether on the other hand it does not go back to the life-time of the apostle, and is not therefore genuine and written soon after 1 Thessalonians (about 54)." In face of this admission, we may safely regard the theory of Hilgenfeld and Pfeiderer, who refer 2 Thessalonians to the era of Trajan, as obsolete (p. 111).

Dr Spitta finds himself in a dilemma. He is not convinced either by the opponents or defenders of the Pauline authorship. The former refuse to recognise the identity in substance of thought and language uniting the two epistles, and their common historical

horizon—the horizon of Paul's life-time; nor do they give any plausible reason for the invention and acceptance, either during that life-time or at a later date, of such a letter as the second. The latter overlook or minimise the inferiority of style and formality of expression in Epistle II. compared with I., and the cessation of the warm current of personal feeling that pervades the First, and marks it with the unmistakable Pauline ethos. Notwithstanding the fundamental resemblance, there are, it is indicated, certain differences of mental standpoint, as well as of personal tone, betraying a distinct personality. Dr Spitta's solution of the problem is that *Timothy* was the author of the second letter, which he wrote from Paul's side at Corinth, but out of his own mind, Paul adding his greeting at the end (iii. 17) and thus endorsing what his colleague had written. Both epistles are sent in the joint names of "Paulus and Silvanus and Timotheus"; and Dr Spitta asks what reason we have in such a case, apart from internal evidence, to assume that the first-named was the actual writer? Epistle I. bears the impress of Paul's hand and mind throughout; Epistle II. is wanting in that impress. To the recent visit of Timothy he ascribes the language of II. ii. 5, 6 ("being still with you"), which is inconsistent, as he argues, with I. v. 1, 2.

Many points of interest arise in Dr Spitta's discussion of the two letters. He will not have it that chapters ii. iii. of Epistle I. are apologetic; they are an irrepressible outburst of personal feeling. He thinks that I. iii. 5 refers to the despatch by Paul alone of a second emissary to Thessalonica, subsequently to the despatch of Timothy from Athens by Paul and Silas together (verse 1); and that this second messenger on his return brought the tidings of renewed persecution and agitation respecting the Parousia, which occasioned the writing of the second epistle. The author will see no traces in Epistle I. of excitement on the subject of the Parousia, not even in chap. v. 19-21, but only faults of despondency and moral laxity. The revelation of II. ii. 5-12 he believes to be based on some lost Jewish Apocalypse against Rome, of the Emperor Caligula's time, which Timothy has adapted (should we not rather say, *twisted*?) into a Christian Apocalypse against Judaism. "The apostasy" is the Israelite rebellion against the Messiah; "the mystery of iniquity" is the wickedness of Jewish enemies of the gospel (compare I. ii. 14-16); and "the man of sin" is some expected Pseudomessiah; "the withholder" is the Roman government (142-146), and the *ῥῆς* of verse 6 is the moment marked by the news of the expulsion of the Jews from Rome (Acts xviii. 2). Dr Spitta thinks it out of the question that the conflict between Christianity and the Empire should have been anticipated in the reign of Claudius—an opinion which seems to us to do injustice to Paul's insight and

penetration. That Caligula's self-deification, with the words of Daniel vii. and xi. behind it, is the basis of the representation of II. ii. 4, we have been long convinced; but the process by which Professor Spitta converts the denunciation of Caligula into a fulmination against Paul's Jewish antagonists is not at all clear. We may describe it by the terms "überraschende Metamorphose," justly applied by himself to the Hilgenfeld-Pfleiderer hypothesis, by which τ. μυστήριον τ. ἀνομίας became second-century Gnosticism and τὸ κατέχον the Episcopate! (140).

III. UNORDNUNGEN IM TEXTE DES VIERTEN EVANGELIUMS (pp. 156-204).

The third essay in this volume is the most interesting to the New Testament student, and the easiest to follow. In three instances Dr Spitta thinks he can rectify the order of the received Johannine text; and he finds in the condition of the text of John vii. 53—viii. 11 circumstances which fall in with the theory he applies to other disarrangements.

(1) In the Trial and Denial of Jesus, chapter xviii. 12-28, the author proposes to read thus: verses 12, 13, 19-24, 14-18, 25b-28, omitting 25a as a repetition inserted by the redactor to link together pieces whose connection he had inadvertently broken. This restoration, it is contended, makes the narrative consistent with itself and with that of the Synoptics. Annas no longer appears to be called "high-priest"; Peter's denials are continuous, and, as in the other Gospels, accompany the second trial in the palace of Caiaphas (and before the Sanhedrin); and the statement of Matthew, that "*all* the disciples forsook Him and fled" (xxvi. 56), is in no way contradicted by John, when we understand that Peter and "that other disciple" reappeared after an interval at the door of *Caiaphas'* house, not at that of Annas to which Jesus was led immediately upon his apprehension. On this view, the first private examination of Jesus was conducted by Caiaphas, for convenience, at his father-in-law's house; and the result of the public trial is sufficiently indicated here by verse 14 (following 24), with its manifest allusion to chapter xi. (p. 162). In fine, Dr Spitta considers that the conclusions drawn by critics to the disadvantage of this section of the Fourth Gospel are nullified by the rectification of the text, a correction which commends itself to every reader so soon as pointed out (p. 168).¹

But how has the displacement arisen? The eye of the copyist from whom the primary text came, in passing from his exemplar to his copy, jumped from verse 13 to verse 24—in both of which the

¹ On page 166, line 20, "Caiphas" should, we presume, be "Pilatus."

words *Annas*, *Caiaphas*, and *high-priest* occur; he then wrote on through the story about Peter (which followed verse 24 in the original), and did not discover his mistake until he got into the middle of the denial at verse 18, from which point he went back to insert the omitted section (verses 19-24, which should have followed 13); then he resumed at verse 25 of his copy the tale of the denial, tying again the broken thread by his (inserted) first clause of verse 25—and not observing that he has left Peter “standing and warming himself” at one house and picked him up “standing and warming himself” in another (pp. 158-161).

(2) Dr Spitta discovers a more extensive displacement in chapters xiii.-xvii. He believes the true order to be: xiii. 1-31a, xv., xvi., xiii. 31b—xiv. 31, xvii.; he thinks it probable, moreover, that a Johannine account of the Lord's Supper has dropped out, or has been left out, between xiii. 31a and xv. (pp. 188-191).

With this reconstruction, only the prayer of chapter xvii., probably uttered standing, comes after the solemn conclusion of xiv. 25-31, with its emphatic “Rise, let us go hence!” The figure of the Vine in chapter xv. is derived immediately from the “cup” of the Supper, while the traitor's departure suggests the “cast-out branch” of verse 6; and the disciples' questions in xiii. 36—xiv. 22 follow, instead of preceding (as they do so strangely in the received order), the Lord's challenge in xvi. 5: “None of you asketh Me, Whither goest Thou?” A network of allusions connects chapter xv. with xiii., and xvii. directly with xiv.—not specifically with xv., xvi.: this is a strong point in the argument. The “glorification of the Son of man” in xiii. 31b is explained by the confession of the disciples in xvi. 30-33; the thought of the common dwelling in the Father's House (xiv. 2) carries us beyond the horizon of xvi. 16, 22; and xiv. 4-26 sums up Christ's revelation of the Father to His disciples, as xii. 44-50 gathered up His revelation to the world, and forms therefore the necessary climax to the discourse and the basis of the prayer of chapter xvii. The scheme is extremely plausible, and is worked out with the utmost care and ingenuity (pp. 169-181).

(3) Dr Spitta complains that the critics dismiss the *pericope adulteræ* in John vii., viii., without explaining its insertion or accounting for the documentary and contextual phenomena. The *πᾶλιν* of viii. 12, as in verse 21, implies a previous speech of Jesus wanting in chapter vii.; viii. 13 presumes a different situation from that of vii. 37. In fact, the scene and argument of chapter vii. are closed in verses 47-52; and the “I am the light of the world” of viii. 12 has nothing to do with the Feast of Tabernacles. In short, Professor Spitta believes a leaf or two of the Gospel to have been lost here; and that some of the early editors, aware of the fact, left a blank space, as indicated in Codd. L and Δ, while others filled up

the gap with the precious fragment of extra-Johannine tradition extant in the received text (p. 198).

(4) John vii. 15-24 is a paragraph, Dr Spitta argues, out of place where it stands, and precisely in place *at the end of chapter v.*, the discourse of which is by this addition brought to its proper conclusion, whereas the passage is irrelevant and disturbing to the context of chapter vii., which reads naturally and smoothly when the aberrant boulder is removed. Wendt, in his *Lehre Jesu*, and Bertling in the *Studien und Kritiken* (1880, pp. 351-353), have expressed similar opinions (pp. 199-203).

Now Dr Spitta has a theory which accounts for the three latter disturbances of the text all at once. He finds that each of the transposed passages is in length, as nearly as possible, a multiple of the same unit—that unit corresponding to the amount of writing probably contained in a single papyrus leaf. The matter of vii. 53—viii. 11, in its shortest form (Cod. D), is of the same extent, but possibly occupies the place of more than one lost leaf. John xiii. 31b—xiv. 31 would cover four leaves, and chapters xv. and xvi. six leaves of the same size; while the supposed missing account of the Lord's Supper, if it extended to the same length as in the other Gospels, would have filled another leaf. The leaves which made up the ancient papyrus rolls were sometimes inscribed before being pasted together, and such a "*liber nondum conglutinatus*" would be liable to exactly the sort of accidents which Dr Spitta thinks he has discovered. Or when the book had been inscribed on a complete roll, it would sometimes happen that its fastenings gave way, and leaves became detached—either singly or several of them together—and misplaced afterwards in repairing or in recopying the volume. In the case of chapter vii. 15-24, Dr Spitta imagines that the copyist, who had overlooked the loose leaf at its proper place, inserted it at vii. 14, where Jesus first reappears at Jerusalem; and that the four detached leaves containing xiii. 31b—xiv. 31 have been pushed up out of their order so as to maintain the continuity between the incidents relating to Judas and Peter previously observed in the narrative of Luke (pp. 182-6).

IV. DIE URCHRISTLICHEN TRADITIONEN ÜBER URSPRUNG UND SINN DES ABENDMAHLS (pp. 207-337).

The last of Dr Spitta's essays is the longest and most laboured, and, we must add, the most precarious of the four. It is written as a kind of recantation, "*eine scharfe Selbstkritik*," on the writer's part. To us it seems as though the pendulum of his judgment had swung back considerably beyond the point of equipoise. It is pleasant, however, to observe here, as in former parts of the volume, the impartiality and self-detachment of Professor Spitta, a quality

not over-common amongst critics, who are apt to cherish a too fond parental affection for the speculations of earlier years. It appears that previously, in a work published (unless we are mistaken) only so far back as 1890, he had taken the account of the Last Supper in Paul and the Synoptics together as his historical basis, and regarded the Holy Supper therefore as an actual institution of Jesus, who adapted the *πάσχα* to the use of His disciples, giving it a deeper sense and one personal to Himself. It was amongst the Gentile Christians, Dr Spitta had supposed, that this yearly memorial Supper was united with the Agapé, and thus came to be frequently repeated, and acquired a somewhat altered and broadened meaning.

Further research leads him now to discriminate between the representation of Mark and Matthew, and that of Paul and Luke. In the former account, when reduced to its primitive form, in which it reflects the pure tradition of the Jewish apostles, there is no reference to the sacrificial death, no direction to "do this in remembrance"; the Supper has no paschal or institutional character whatever; it was simply the last supper of the Lord with His disciples, during which, incidentally, He used the bread and cup as symbols of the spiritual and heavenly feast of His Messianic kingdom, without in the least intending that what He then did should be turned into a stated ritual observance. The original Eucharist had, therefore, as appears very strikingly in the *Didaché*, an eschatological meaning, like the feast-parables of Jesus and the words of John vi. 48-50, in accordance with the common Jewish conceptions based on Old Testament prophecy, and adopted in the imagery of the "marriage supper of the Lamb" in the Apocalypse. This primary reference of the Supper comes out in the introductory words of Luke xxii. 18, overlaid by the subsequent verses, and it even "bei Paulus klingt (!)" in the *ἄχρως οὐ ἐλθῇ* of 1 Cor. xi. 26 (p. 277).

Accordingly, the Eucharist originated in the Agapé of the first Church in Jerusalem (Acts ii. 42), which in its joyous, common evening meals reninded itself of the Last Supper of Jesus, and voluntarily repeated His act and words in the thanksgiving pronounced over the cup and the bread; water also, in the oldest Agapæ, frequently bore a sacred symbolical sense. Gradually the free and informal Eucharist of the Agapé grew into a prescribed rite, which in course of time overshadowed the meal that gave it birth, and, separating itself from the latter, finally superseded it. The fact that the death of Jesus synchronised with the slaying of the Paschal lamb strongly affected the Jewish-Christian mind; and this association soon began to be read into the tradition of the Last Supper, thus imparting to it more and more of a sacrificial character. The words of Exod. xii. 14 were especially influential in this direction. At this point Paul received the Eucharistic tradition, and in

communicating it to his churches gave it the incisive impress of his own mind, charging it with his developed theory of the atonement, and changing it from a joyful communion and foretaste of the Messianic triumph into a solemn, mystical commemoration of the dying Saviour. This transformation, so manifest in 1 Cor. xi, has given rise to the peculiar tradition of Luke, and has even coloured the Gospel of Matthew, as is manifest in the clause "for remission of sins" (xxvi. 28), foreign to the purer record of Mark. The *καινή διαθήκη* of Paul and Luke carries our thoughts away from the Davidic-Messianic covenant which Jesus had in mind in uttering the words of Mark xiv. 24 (speaking of "My blood of the covenant" in contrast with the Mosaic "blood of the covenant," Exod. xxiv. 8), to the "new covenant" of Jer. xxxi. 31 ff., and its promise of forgiveness. The *καταγγέλλετε* of 1 Cor. xi. 26 should be read imperatively, implying that the Corinthian Church had not hitherto seen the matter in the light in which the apostle now places it, that in fact he is giving a *new* character to the Agapé-Eucharist. The old and new views are imperfectly blended in Paul; in 1 Cor. x. he regards the Supper in its earlier acceptation. This original eschatological import of the Eucharist Dr Spitta traces through the later New Testament books. The demonstration raises a number of interesting side issues, on which it is impossible for us now to enter: for one thing, Dr Spitta is compelled to regard John vi. 51-59 as an intrusive gloss (pp. 216-221).

On the theory itself we will simply state the following observations, without attempting to develop them:—(1) No such opposition exists between the eschatological and the expiatory reference of the Lord's Supper—*i.e.*, between the sufferings of the Christ and the following glory, as Dr Spitta appears to assume. Not from Paul and Luke alone, but from the other Evangelists, with their tradition reduced to the limits the author himself would assign, it is evident that suffering and death were the appointed way to the Messianic kingdom, and that in the thought of Jesus and the logic of His teaching these two conceptions were inseparable. On every ground we should press against Dr Spitta the *Οὐχὶ . . . ἔδεε*; of Luke xxiv. 26. (2) All arguments that eliminate the connection of the Last Supper with the vicarious death are wrecked upon the words of Mark xiv. 24 ("die urapostolische Form," p. 318), "My blood of the covenant, which is shed for many." The attempt made on pages 268-9 to explain away the sacrificial sense of this expression appears to us singularly slight and evasive. Granting the meal to be no *πάσχα* and the allusion to the Paschal Lamb to be out of place, words that spoke of "covenant-blood shed for many" could have only one reference amongst pious Jews. (3) We contest the imputation that St Paul was either so ill-informed in the

original tradition of Jesus, or so careless of exactitude in reporting it, that he could be capable of "transforming" the scene of the Lord's Supper and giving to it a radically unhistorical character. 1 Cor. xv. 1-11 evidences the fulness and vividness of the Palestinian tradition to which he had access, and the closeness of his inter-communion with the other apostles upon the points contained in it. (4) We agree with Dr Spitta that the festal nature of the Eucharist, its primitive significance as an act of communion with the glorified and returning Christ, has been grievously eclipsed, to the Church's loss and hurt. But no Christian can look forward to that kingdom without grateful and sorrowful remembrance of the death by which it was won; nor could the Lord Jesus look forward to it otherwise than through the darkness and shame of His approaching death. Dr Spitta knows how near together lie the springs of tears and of joy, how penitence and sorrow rise into the hope of glory. It is this union of remembrance and anticipation, this blending of the vision of the dying and the triumphant Saviour, that gives to the Last Supper its unique and profoundly affecting significance.

Half the essay on the Last Supper is occupied with a preliminary discussion (211-266) upon the "Time and Occasion," in which Professor Spitta argues very ably and, as we think, demonstratively, for the 14th Nisan as the day of the crucifixion. We are not sure that he is right in denying that our Lord on the 13th Nisan anticipated, in any sense, the paschal Supper; he makes it appear very probable that the prescribed forms of the *πάσχα* were not observed, and that Jesus rather followed the common order of a Jewish meal. He thinks that the paragraph of Mark (xiv. 12-16) relating the preparations of the disciples is an interpolation, and that all other indications in the text of Mark, with this removed, agree with those of John in assuming a Supper previous to, and not identical with, the regular Pascha.

GEORGE G. FINDLAY.

The Historical Geography of the Holy Land.

G. A. Smith, D.D. Hodder & Stoughton, 1894. 8vo. pp. xxiv. 692. Price 15s.

THIS work belongs to the increasing literature which results from the survey and exploration of Palestine. It does not contain much that is new in geography, but it represents the influence, on a scholar and critic who has himself travelled, more widely than most visitors, over the country, of the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and of the younger societies which have sprung from the

original English enterprise. All explorers should welcome a book from the standpoint of Dr Smith, marked as it is with moderation and freedom from prejudice, especially when combining critical knowledge with the free admission that critical opinions require to be controlled by the results of increasing knowledge of Oriental antiquities. Dr Smith seems to think that, like the German Society, the English should have concerned itself with critical questions; yet he himself shows (pp. x. 108) how little connection there is between the study of topography and that of the dates of books concerned. The Palestine Exploration Fund has always restricted itself to the collection of facts, leaving to others to form conclusions; and their work consequently is accepted by writers as far apart as Dr Smith and Dr Cunningham Geikie. The only critical paper that they have admitted is one, written in 1876, in which I have suggested that internal evidence shows that the topographical chapters of the Book of Joshua must belong to a late period.¹ That they have been wise in adhering to this course is perhaps shown by the fact that the views of the present extreme critical school differ, not only in detail, but in principle, from those that prevailed when Colenso wrote a quarter of a century ago; and that these again are already discounted by more moderate writers. The latest authorities on monumental study have, on the other hand, only repeated and confirmed the opinions and conclusions of Sir Henry Rawlinson, published forty years ago. Monumental study is no "by-path," but rather the highway to the discovery of the truth.

The Society in question does not deserve the insinuation (p. xiii.) that it has increased its identifications for the sake of satisfying subscribers. This portion of its work was due to ten years of labour, and it has always set its face against the frauds and sensations of the day, from the time of the Shapira forgeries down to that of the "Garden Tomb." It is not clear whether Dr Smith has consulted the Survey Memoirs, or whether he quotes them only second-hand: out of six citations two are correct and give the page, one is a mere allusion, and three are incorrect as to the volume, and give no page reference. In these Memoirs Dr Smith would recognise that I have always given the reasons for identification, and distinguished the various degrees of reliability. On the maps the sites generally agreed to are distinguished from the doubtful ones which are queried. The onus of proving that an identification is "rash" must lie with those who have considered this evidence. There is of course much doubt as to the more obscure sites. The Bible topography includes about 600 names, and in about 450 cases sites have been suggested. Dr Smith, whose work is of a general

¹ Survey Memoirs, "Special Papers," p. 219.

geographical character, does not treat exhaustively of this subject ; but out of about 230 places he agrees in some 215 cases with the Survey Maps, and disputes about 15 sites. This is a most satisfactory result to explorers, and his objections are always fairly urged and deserving of attention. Among the sites which I have added as results of the Survey, he favours many of the most important, including Abelmeholah, Baal Shalisha, Bezek, Debir, Gibbethon, Hachilah, Kypros, Lachish, Nehaliel, Osha, The City of Salt, Timnath Heres, the Land of Tob, &c. I cannot, however, claim Jogbehah (p. 585) which was, I think, first suggested by Vandevelde. He also accepts the identifications which I have proposed for the topography of the Crusades, in the case of the rivers of the Sharon Plain, and the sites of Petra Incisa and Sinjil, which were, I believe, previously unknown.

It is not possible in a short notice to refer to the critical views of the author, or to his impressions due to visiting the land. His information is usually taken from standard authorities, which were available for the most part in 1876-1883, when I used them in writing the Survey Memoirs, though some have since become more generally available by being translated into English. If therefore the following paragraphs are mainly devoted to criticisms of detail, it is not due to any desire to depreciate an interesting and scholarly work, which may be useful to many, and which is excellent in tone ; but rather for the sake of suggesting to the author points which he might wish to strengthen, or to reconsider, in a later edition.

It may be remarked in passing that the Arabic requires a few minor corrections. *Aneezeh* (p. 8) should be *'Anazeh*; and *Feshkah* (p. 564) *Feshkhah*. For *Sahra* (p. 644) read *Sahrat*, and for *'Akrabbeh* (p. 324) *'Akrabeh*. *Huwa* is not Arabic for "brotherhood" (*Khuwah*) ; and *Ahwat* should be *Akhwat* "brothers," and cannot mean "sister" (*Akhi*). But it is evident that these are mere slips. The word *Lejja* in North Syrian speech means (as it may be interesting to note) "basalt," thus answering to the old name Trachonitis. In spite of the great care taken, there are also one or two printer's errors in the Arabic, which require attention. This is inevitable in such work.

Turning to consider the controversial sites, as to which Dr Smith writes with knowledge and with fairness, it may be remarked that light has recently been thrown on the situation of Gath by the Tell el Amarna letters.¹ The site lay on the border of a province bounded by Sunasu (*Sanastn*), Burku (*Burka*), and Kharabu (*El Khurd*), which agrees with the Tell es Sâfi site, now generally adopted, and which Dr Smith is also somewhat inclined to accept (p. 196). The situation in the Valley of Elah also agrees with the

¹ No. 154 Berlin Collection. *Giti Rimuna*—Gath Rimmon.

Old Testament account.¹ The same correspondence also seems to confirm the identification of Makkedah (*see* p. 211) at *El Mughâr*, almost the only site in the plains where caves exist in a cliff.

As regards the identification of the Castle of Mirabel at the Castle of Râs el 'Ain (*see* p. 214), the fact that the Turks fled north-west "towards" (not "to") Mirabel (*De Vinsauf* iv. 36) does not appear to be a great objection. Saladin's irregulars generally scattered in various directions, and during the great battle of Assur some actually fled west to the shore cliffs, across the line of King Richard's march. Among other minor points it seems doubtful whether Gibeah ha Blohim should be placed at Ramallah (p. 250), and Beit Rima can hardly be Ramathaim (p. 254), for the word comes from another root, and the site was called Beth Rima in the second century A.D. The "nest of the Kenite" (p. 278) may very likely be doubtful, but it appears to me fairly certain that the ruin *Yukin* represents the town *Ha Kîn* mentioned in Joshua xv. 57. In the Negeb, 'Ain Kadis may quite possibly be the Kadesh on the way to Egypt, which Hagar is said to have reached, but great confusion in the topography arises from the attempt to identify this site with Kadesh Barnea (or "of the desert of wandering"), a site which the Talmudists and the Onomasticon agree in placing near Petra, which agrees with my suggested identification of Hezron at *Jebel Hadhireh*. Hagar is not said to have gone to Kadesh Barnea, and the name Kadesh is common.

It is difficult to understand why Dr Smith says (p. 353) that there is no ruin called *Kurduwa* near the Sartabeh. I found remains so called of a considerable town, and a Hebrew or Samaritan inscription on one of the tombs. The site is not impossibly that of Archelais.² It is also hard to understand why he should place Tirzah at *Tallâza* (p. 355). The two names have not a single letter in common.

The question of Megiddo is still controversial, but the following points are to be considered in favour of my suggested site at *Mujedda'*, which was certainly an important town: (1) the site agrees with the topography of the "Travels of a Mohar," in which it is noticed as if near Jordan; (2) the word *Bikath* usually applies (both in Hebrew and in Arabic) to a broad valley between mountains, rather than to a plain like that of Esdraelon; (3) the notice of Taanach (Judg. v. 19) in connection with the waters of Megiddo may fairly be balanced by the notice of Endor (Psalm lxxiii. 9) as the site of the battle. Against the Lejjûn site it may also be urged (1) that no ancient writer ever places Megiddo at Lejjûn or at Legio—it is only selected as a large place near Taanach; (2) there is no ancient site called *Mukutta'* at all. The

¹ 1 Samuel xvii. 52.

² Survey Memoirs II. p. 395.

modern name of the Kishon, five miles north of Legio, is *Nahr el Mukutta*, applying, not to the western affluent, but to that which flows from Tabor. The name cannot be ancient in this case, and it does not point to the site at Legio. Excavations at Mujeddá might perhaps settle this question, since it is possible to reconcile all the Old Testament notices with this situation, excepting perhaps the single passage in the Song of Deborah, if Taanach is there to be taken as a proper name of a town.

Beth Shearim (p. 425) I have proposed to place at *Sha'rah*, on the Tabor plateau, shewing a gradual removal of the seat of the Sanhedrin eastwards from Shaphram to Tiberias. As regards Tarichea (p. 452), Sir Charles Wilson, in his latest map, has, like Dr Guthe, come round to the opinion that it was at the south end of the Sea of Galilee. This city seems to be the *Tarkaar* (or *Tarkaal*) of the "Travels of a Mohar," which he passed on his way from the Lake to the Jordan, before reaching Megiddo; and in this case the name is really not of Greek but of native origin. As regards Rakkath (p. 454), the Talmudists believed it to be the ancient name of Tiberias itself.

It is highly satisfactory to find that Dr Smith supports the Minieh site for Capernaum (p. 456), and discards the Byzantine tradition, which has no authority in face of the various difficulties which it raises. *Tell Hum* may, I think, be very well identified with the Caphar Ahim of the Talmud. As regards Baal Gad (p. 474), it seems to me probable that the true site is at *'Ain Judeideh* on the north-west slope of Hermon.

Dr Smith leaves the question of Bethabara unsettled (p. 496). The identification with the ford of 'Abárah may be uncertain, but the following considerations should be remembered: (1) that the name is unique, and is not borne by any other Jordan ford, nor does it again occur in the 10,000 Arab names recovered in Western Palestine; (2) that the Gospel narration (John i. 28, ii. 1) requires that Bethabara should be as near as possible to Cana of Galilee, which agrees with the site which I have proposed. The site near Jericho, which Christian tradition has indicated since the fourth century, is so far away as to have led to adverse criticism on the part of critical writers on the Gospel.

The only other site of importance that requires notice is Mahanaim (p. 586), which I propose to place at the ruin *Mahmeh* in Gilead. Dr Smith says that the region "is not likely to have contained so important a town," from which conclusion, after visiting the spot, I beg to differ. The locality is well watered, and contains several important ruins. He also says that Mahanaim was on the border of Gad (Josh. xiii. 26), but the passage in question speaks only of the border of Debir.

With regard to questions not purely geographical, a few points may be noticed, which require at least further explanation. Dr Smith asserts (p. 5) that only one language was spoken in Palestine. The language used by the writers of the Tell el Amarna tablets resembles Assyrian, and is as remote from Hebrew as German is from English. Whatever be thought of the language of two of the letters which scholars have pronounced to be non-Semitic, it is not now possible to regard Hebrew, Moabite, or Phœnician as mere dialects of Canaanite. The writers of these letters all bear Semitic names, and appear to have written in the native language. In later times the Aramean and the language of Ashdod are specially distinguished in the Old Testament from Hebrew. As regards the date of these letters Dr Smith wavers (pp. 5, 184) between the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries B.C. The dates determined by Dr Brugsch rest on several astronomical calculations, and according to these the letters must have been penned about 1480 to 1440 B.C. The later dates of Mahler have not won general acceptance.

Dr Smith asserts (p. 7) that the population of Palestine came from Arabia, but does not give any cogent reason. According to the Old Testament the Hebrews and the Canaanites alike came from Mesopotamia, and Phœnician tradition points to the mouth of the Euphrates as the original seat. It is certainly in Chaldea and in Palestine that we find the earliest evidence (2000 to 1500 B.C.) of Semitic civilisation in written documents. The inscriptions of North Arabia are fixed by palæographic considerations as not older than about 400 B.C., and the oldest dated Yemenite texts belong to the third century B.C. The Arabic language is, moreover, much nearer to Babylonian than to Hebrew; and Arabia is clearly a country ill-fitted to be the cradle of a civilised race. The early cradles are found as a rule in the basin of some great river, and no such rivers occur in the Arabian deserts. Tradition and science are alike opposed to the theory of an Arabian origin for the Semitic races and no contrary evidence appears to exist.

Dr Smith's account of the modern Jewish colonies (p. 20) is not quite up to date. There are a good many more than he notices. He appears also to have a prejudice against the Crusaders (p. 17), for the early Frankish kings and nobles were famed for their courtesy and justice, even according to the evidence of Moslems. It was no small achievement to conquer the whole of Syria and part of Aram, and to hold these kingdoms for a century, and after that for another century to hold all the more valuable plains: to carry Frank customs into Armenia; and to build up a system of law and of free trade, such as these conquerors established. But the most remarkable results of the Crusades were the birth of the Renaissance in Europe, and the revolt from the authority of Rome, which led in time to the

Reformation. It is fairly certain that the Crusading Barons held Gilead (see p. 528), in the 12th century, when they built the castles of Salt, Rubud, and Tibneh. They also held part of the Jaulân; and Bashan was (on account of Damascus) the only region never subdued.

The view that Tarshish was in Spain, and Elishah in Italy (p. 26), cannot be said to be generally accepted. The former is mentioned with places in Asia Minor, and is very probably the later Tarsus. If Elishah be (as I believe) the *Alasiya* of the Tell el Amarna tablets, it is certain that it was not far distant from the country of the Hittites.

It is usual to state (see p. 30) that the Hebrews alone of the Ancients had Monotheistic ideas. Yet Monotheism seems very clearly expressed in Egyptian hymns as old as Moses, and recent discoveries in Assyria have shown that the Assyrians also at least as early as 900 B.C., adored *Yahu*, or Jehovah, and regarded the various divine names as only titles of a single deity.

Dr Smith is no doubt right (p. 40) in identifying the Melchites with the Roman Catholic Greeks, but the term is much older, and dates from the time of the Council of Chalcedon (451 A.D.), when certain Syrians adhered to the "Royal" or Melchite party.

It seems hardly correct (p. 47) to speak of a continuous "trench" from the Lebanon Valley to the Gulf of 'Akabah. A very high watershed on Hermon divides the Orontes, which flows north, from the Jordan which flows south; and another high watershed divides the Dead Sea from the Gulf of 'Akabah. The sequence of the valleys north and south is, however, a remarkable feature, due, in the case of the Jordan Valley at least, to an enormous fault in the strata.

A thunderstorm in Palestine in harvest time (p. 65) is not as "miraculous" as would appear. It is no doubt rare, but I remember experiencing one in 1873. If by 'Ain Sina (p. 78) Dr Smith means 'Ain Sinia, he will find that this place does not depend on a well, but has a good spring to the north-east.¹ There are very few places in Palestine called 'Ain where springs do not occur. It is not clear (p. 121) what Dr Smith means by the note "Ebal is 2300 feet": the height above the Mediterranean is 3077 feet. Bolerin (p. 128) is perhaps a printer's error for Batrîn, as there is no place of the former name on the Phœnician coast. I also doubt whether Phœnician masonry has been found at Tantûrah (p. 129), though there is a tomb hard by which may be Phœnician. The remains at this site are mainly of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. I also doubt if it was the Merla of De Vinsauf (p. 130) which seems to have been further south.

¹ Survey Memoirs II., p. 291.

St George at Lydda (p. 163) cannot have been built by Richard Lion Heart, which Dr Smith agrees in discrediting. The style is that of the earlier period, and it is thought to have been erected some forty years earlier. King Richard built forts, but is not recorded to have built churches, and the Norman churches in Palestine must have taken much more than a single year to build.

It is true that the Philistines are not mentioned by name in the Tell el Amarna tablets (pp. 172-3), but the King of Ascalon bears a name compounded with that of Dagon, and may probably have been a Philistine. Dagon (*Da-gan*) was adored in Chaldea, and his name is supposed to be non-Semitic. The Philistines (*Pu-les-ta*) are first noticed on the monuments about 1200 B.C. No doubt the population of this region was much mixed, but the general impression from monumental evidence is that the "uncircumcised" Philistines were non-Semitic. They are represented on Egyptian bas-reliefs as a beardless people, wearing a peculiar head-dress, and they seem more probably, like the Hittites, to have been a tribe of the Mongolic population to which the Akkadians certainly belonged, as witnessed by their language. Dr Smith remarks that most of the Philistine names in the Old Testament seem to be non-Semitic. There is no evidence that Obed Edom was a Philistine, and Abimelech may have been a Semitic ruler of a non-Semitic people.

It is hardly correct to speak of the reign of Mineptah II. as the "accepted" date of the Exodus (p. 216), except among tourists and writers who have not studied the monuments themselves. It is an old theory of Bunsen's, popularised by Dr Brugsch, but never accepted by Sir G. Wilkinson. It is not based on any monumental notices, since the Hebrews are not noticed in any Egyptian text, but on Bunsen's understanding of the legends of Manetho, who lived in the third century B.C. The theory is quite irreconcilable with any of the chronological data furnished in the Bible (Judges xi. 26; 1 Kings vi. 1; Acts xiii. 20), and it has always been criticised by scholars. Quite recently Mr Le Page Renouf has stated that the Egyptian records throw no light on the date of the Exodus. It is known that in the time of Mineptah II. Semitic tribes were actually entering Egypt, and that this king was attacked, during a period of great weakness, by the nations of the north. On these grounds his reign is very unlikely to have coincided with an exodus. On the other hand it is known that Thothmes IV. (the "tamer of the Syrian shepherds") actually expelled the Asiatics from Egypt. His reign preceded that of Amenophis III., during which the great revolts of Canaanites, Amorites, Hittites, and Habiri broke out, when the Egyptian troops were withdrawn. It seems, therefore, not improbable that the

Habiri (or 'Abiri) were the Hebrews (a view held also in Germany by Dr Zimmern), and this date would be reconcilable with the chronology of the Old Testament. The identification is strengthened by the notice of Seir in connection with the Habiri, and by the path of their advance to Jerusalem, Ajalon, Gezer, Lachish, Ascalon, and Keilah, which coincides exactly with that of Joshua's first campaign, as described in the narrative of the Book of Joshua. The destruction of the Canaanite rulers by the Habiri is mentioned several times in the Tell el Amarna letters, as being very complete; and it is evident that they were an invading nation, who are only noticed in the south and never in the north of Palestine.

Dr Smith does not describe the "Roman remains" at Beit Jibrin (p. 232), and, except perhaps the Columbaria, I did not find any there. The texts in the caves at this site are in several cases clearly Moslem, and among others the name of Saladin has been recognised. Although they are usually called Cufic (p. 243), it seems doubtful if they are older than the twelfth century, and very improbable that they are as early as the Byzantine age.

It also seems doubtful whether the Idumeans were ever really Judaised (p. 240), and incorrect to speak of Herod as a Hebrew (p. 624). They certainly retained pagan names in the time of the latter. It seems also improbable that Sanballat the Horonite was named from Beth Horon. According to the Samaritan Book of Joshua, Israel assembled in the Haurân before approaching Shechem under Sanballat, and this may be the real explanation. According to the same work Sanballat was a Levite.

Dr Smith seems (p. 265) to confuse Khân el Ahmar ("the red Khan") with Khân Hathrûrah at Tala't ed Dumm further north, which is the old traditional "inn of the good Samaritan." According to Jerome Aulon was a Hebrew word (p. 489), *i.e.* *Elon* or "plain," and not Greek at all. There seems no reason to suppose (p. 618) that Siah "began with a Nabatean building." The temple appears to be all of one date, and the Aramaic text is part of a bilingual, with a Greek translation. Nor is it necessary to regard Aumo (p. 629), to whom the above temple was consecrated in the time of Herod the Great, as a "deity of lower rank." He is very well known as an Arab sun-god, noticed in the Sabeen texts of Yemen; and this is one among many indications of the migrations from Arabia, which were taking place about this period.

It will, I hope, be recognised that these remarks are not captious, or intended for any purpose other than the advancement of knowledge. An exhaustive account of the Holy Land has never yet been written, but Dr Smith's volume contains much that will be valuable towards such a description, and is among the most scholarly yet published.

C. R. CONDER.

A Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel.

*By the Rev. Alex. Arthur. Edinburgh: Norman Macleod. Post
8vo, 251 pages. Price 3s.*

THIS commentary, though certainly not "critical" in the usual acceptation of the term, contains much criticism of the views maintained regarding the Book of Daniel by some preceding commentators. The writer's opinion of his own achievements is thus given in his preface:—"I suppose also I am the first to refute Porphyry and modern rationalism; the refutation is so simple and conclusive that if it had ever been observed, it could hardly have been lost." That he is a man of strong convictions is abundantly evident; that he is likely to convince others, however, is not quite so apparent, in spite of the following pronouncement on page 11:—"I have not merely silenced Mr Fuller's rash insinuation, but I have refuted the equal rashness of Spinoza, Hobbes, and Sir Isaac Newton, about the authorship, quoted in my prospectus, of two or more authors to the book; and all the rubbish of German rationalism about eight, nine, or ten authors." Notwithstanding forcible language, the style decidedly lacks lucidity; the book, however, is anything but dull reading.

JAMES KENNEDY.

American Society of Church History.

*Report and Papers of the Fifth Annual Meeting. New York
and London: Putnams, pp. lxxxii. 143.*

THE American Society of Church History reports a gratifying increase both in membership and in interest in its work. The Report is followed by a bibliography of works of interest to the student of church history published in 1892. This is very carefully compiled by the Secretary, and provides not only a catalogue, but also, by means of cross-references, a guide to new works on special topics, which will be found very useful. The first of five papers contributed by members is by the lamented Dr Philip Schaff, on St Thomas of Canterbury. Had he lived to complete his great work on church history, it would doubtless have formed one of the chapters of a subsequent volume. It does not produce any new facts or suggestions, but it provides a useful list and estimate of the available sources and materials, and a studiously impartial, on the whole appreciative, judgment of the Archbishop. An article on the services of the Mathers in the religious development of New England brings before us again

the interesting figures of Richard, Increase, and Cotton Mather, to whom New England owed respectively the shaping, the defence, and the history of its Congregational polity. It is curious to observe the Scottish defender of Presbytery described as "Prof. Samuel Rutherford," with a note to explain that he was Professor at St Andrews, and Commissioner to the Westminster Assembly. Are the letters of the minister of Anwoth not part of the literary heritage of America?

The most valuable contribution here is one from Dr H. C. Lea on "The Absolution Formula of the Templars." The problem is how did it happen that among the accusations brought against the Templars by Clement V. in 1308, there was one to the effect that the officers of the Order absolved their brethren from their sins, arrogating to themselves one of the cherished privileges of the priesthood. The answer is that the charge was true, admitted in fact by the Master, and that in the practice of the Order we have a survival from an earlier and less sacerdotal stage, an important testimony to the comparative lateness of the doctrines of sacramental confession and absolution. The Rule of the Templars, derived through the Cistercians from the Benedictines, provided for weekly confession by each member, in the presence of his fellow-members assembled in chapter. Nothing is said as to absolution, which followed according to the theory of the time, *ipso facto*, upon confession and penance. This capitular confession, which was in fact confession before laymen, continued to prevail within the Order long after the development of the sacerdotal theory had put absolution into the power of the priest alone. This was only arrived at after a long period of development. Even the forgery of the twelfth century which passed current under the name of St Augustine, and exercised so great an influence on the development of the sacramental theory of penance, allows that confession to a layman is efficacious, "*Tanta itaque vis confessionis est ut si deest sacerdos confiteatur proximo.*" Down to the thirteenth century the formula of absolution was universally deprecatory. It was not, in fact, until about 1240 that the absolute indicative form, *Ego te absolvo* was introduced. The Church did not formally adopt this formula before the Council of Florence in 1439, and the Council of Trent first pronounced it to be the sole essential part of the sacrament. This interesting question is worked out by Dr Lea with his accustomed thoroughness and mastery of the authorities. Other articles on Holland and Religious Freedom, and the Italian Renaissance of To-day, are lighter metal.

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

For Heart and Life.

*By Rev. J. A. Kerr Bain, M.A. Edinburgh: Macniven & Wallace.
Pp. 390. Price, 5s.*

THESE sermons have all the sobriety of thought and the thoroughness of treatment which readers of Mr Kerr Bain's valuable volumes on the "Pilgrim's Progress" have been taught to expect in his work. That sermons so able were prepared for a small country congregation is a tribute to the author's devotedness as well as to his powers as a preacher. There is no straining after effect either in the subjects chosen or in the method of treatment. The divisions are mostly simple and natural, and if there is on the whole an absence of anything very outstanding or striking, there is strength everywhere, with here and there passages of keen insight and tender beauty. Those who buy sermons for devotional use and for use during enforced absence from church should get this volume, so scriptural, practical and evangelical.

WILLIAM MUIR.

The Daughter of Leontius.

By J. D. Craig Houston, B.D. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Large crown 8vo, pp. 380. Price, 6s.

WE have here a chapter in the romance of history attractively told. It does not look like sober history to read of the daughter of an obscure teacher becoming the wife of a mighty emperor, or to read of great court ladies taking an active part in the fierce discussion of obscure questions regarding the union of the human and the divine in the Person of our Lord. Yet it is all to be found here along with much more of the same sort.

The daughter of Leontius was Athenais or, as she is better known, Eudocia, the wife of Theodosius II. Her romantic career is known only to students, and to them mostly through incidental references in such writers as Hefele, Kurtz, and Gibbon, but in this volume all that is known of her is brought together. Her great gifts, her conversion, her marriage, her eloquence, beauty and learning, her state pilgrimage to the East, her disgrace and exile, her strenuous advocacy of monophysitism, her return to the Catholic faith, her family sorrows and her death, are all told here. As a story, however, there are far too many digressions in the book, and the alternative title, "Phases of Byzantine Life Social and Religious in the Fifth Century after Christ," is the more correct. As to the value of the book there can be no doubt. Every student of the period will

find much in it that is new. Even Mr Gladstone has found something new in the second chapter, in the fact that there were pagan statues in the Sophia Cathedral at Constantinople. The general reader will get a most valuable view of the environment of the Church in the fifth century, and of the insidious influence of the paganism which, far from being conquered as was supposed, was everywhere working woe. The growth of monasticism and asceticism, the appearance of relic worship and mariolatry, the creed-making work of the four great councils, the violence, intolerance and unscrupulousness of the period, and the work of the barbarians everywhere encroaching on the Empire of the West and the Empire of the East alike, are all told here in the most interesting way.

WILLIAM MUIR.

Fallen Angels.

By One of Them. London: Gay & Bird. Demy 8vo,
pp. xiii. 230. Price, 6s.

THIS is another attempt to discover "a rational explanation why the earth, that is the Lord's, with the fulness thereof, should be full of rapine, violence, cruelty, suffering, and misery." The problem is the oldest men have had to face, but the solution here offered is novel enough, at least so far as modern thought is concerned. It is "that human beings are angels, and dwelt originally in purity and light as emanations from the Divine; but that, having fallen, we are being graciously led back to heaven by gradations of instructions." The arguments adduced in favour of this proposition are very varied. They are more interesting than convincing, however, and do not hang well together. Some of them, too, are trivial, as when it is suggested that Paul's injunction to put off "the old man" in some way supports the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, or when such phrases in hymns as "O God, *our* help in *ages past*," and "Grant us thy peace upon our *homeward* way," are quoted as favouring the belief that the present home of the angels was our former home and is destined to be our future home.

The extent to which literature, of all ages and departments, has been laid under requisition is most extraordinary. In one short chapter, not much more than a page in length, there are quotations from writers so diverse as Thomas à Kempis, Gregory of Nyssa, General Gordon, Sharon Turner, Professor Drummond and Lewis Morris. It is claimed for this theory that it lends a majesty to our race in its past, present and future, and casts light on the divine dealings with us, and on the mission of Jesus. Not only so, but it

is said to have important bearings on the place of the lower animals in the universe and to get rid of the difficulties which gather round the doctrine of eternal punishment. On the whole, however, it is impossible to say that this anonymous Fallen Angel, who asserts that we are all fallen angels on our way back to our home, gives a sufficient or satisfactory answer to his own concluding question, *Cui bono?*

WILLIAM MUIR.

Die Apostelgeschichte. Textkritische Untersuchungen und Textherstellung.

Von D. Bernhard Weiss (*Texte und Untersuchungen. IX. Band, Heft 3-4*). Leipzig: Hinrichs. 8vo, pp. 313. Price, M. 10.

Theologische Studien und Kritiken, Jahrgang, 1894, Erstes Heft: Die zwiefache Textüberlieferung in der Apostelgeschichte.

Von Prof. Dr. Fr. Blass in Halle.

Die Johannes-Apokalypse. Textkritische Untersuchungen und Textherstellung.

Von D. Bernhard Weiss. (*Texte und Untersuchungen. Band VII. Heft 1*). Leipzig: Hinrichs. 8vo, pp. vi. 225. Price, M. 7.

THE interest of Dr Weiss' book on the Acts is twofold.

It has an exegetical interest. Dr Weiss accompanies the text with a commentary, the object of which is partly to justify, on exegetical grounds, his textual decisions, partly to indicate the passages where an analysis of the language points necessarily (to use his own word) to the working up of older material. The examination of the language by means of parallels from the book itself and from the Gospel of St Luke, is carefully worked out, and the notes are as a rule sensible and useful. Those, however, on some of the most important points, are exceedingly brief. Thus, on the passage relating to the insurrection of Theudas (v. 36) Dr Weiss remarks curtly, "Here at all events there is an obvious error, for the rising of Theudas took place later than this discussion" (in the Sanhedrin). See also the note on xvi. 10. The very difficult and delicate subject of *Quellenkritik* needs comprehensive treatment, and cannot satisfactorily be dealt with in detached notes. Dr Weiss, however, by his examination of the language has made a contribution to the investigation of the question.

The chief importance, however, of the book lies in its treatment of the textual problems of the Acts. Dr Weiss works, as indeed any scientific critic must now do, on genealogical lines. He en-

deavours to determine the relation of the primary MSS. of the Acts by a comparison of their readings in a large number of passages. This investigation falls under three main heads—viz., (1) variation in words; (2) additions and omissions; (3) change in the order of words. It may be said roughly to be that kind of detailed examination of readings which lies behind much of Dr Hort's Introduction. His theory is as follows. The primary MSS. must be divided into four groups: (1) Three Codices of the ninth century, viz., HLP. Of the 630 variants in these MSS. (of which 290 are common to all three) at least 390 are intentional emendations. (2) Two Codices of the sixth century—viz., Codex Bezae (D) and Codex Laudianus (E). The extraordinary and characteristic aberrations from the common text found in these MSS. are grafted on to an already emended text, closely related to that exemplified in the first group. There are, according to Dr Weiss, 440 variants common to the two groups. (3) Three Codices which are representatives of "the older text"—viz., $\aleph$ AC. This group also, however, has a distinct connection with the two former groups, and consequently with "the emended text." With the first group (HLP) $\aleph$ has 23, A 42, C (about a third of the Book being wanting in this MS.) 27 mistakes in common. With the second group (DE) the agreement of $\aleph$ AC is still more frequent, $\aleph$ having 36, A 49, C 42 mistakes in common with it. Thus the turning point of the theory is "the *emended* text." Of the MSS. already considered $\aleph$ is the least influenced thereby. (4) The Vatican MS. (B) holds a unique position. It is true that B resembles the group $\aleph$ AC, in that it exhibits a number of arbitrary, often meaningless, mistakes and an especially numerous crop of clerical errors. But Dr Weiss gives it as his verdict that among the peculiar readings of B we find no single one which *must* be regarded as an intentional emendation, and 48 which are to be reckoned as original readings. B has only 37 errors in common with the three other groups and 970 right readings, while the other groups have about 75 right readings in places where representatives of them agree against B. The great importance of B for the text of the Acts is thus beyond dispute, though care must be taken not to overlook its characteristic errors.

The text which is the outcome of this theory closely resembles that of Drs Westcott and Hort. A collation of the two texts in two or three chapters showed but few and unimportant differences. It must not, however, be concluded that the German scholar is always at one with the English editors, however his general results confirm theirs. If I am not mistaken, the subjective element, which is, of course, necessary in that preliminary review of readings by which a provisional grouping of authorities is obtained, plays too prominent

a part in Dr Weiss' final decisions. Two examples will illustrate this criticism. (a) In xi. 20, Dr Weiss reads *ἐλάλουν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας* with $\aleph^o$ AD*. The rival reading *πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνιστάς* has the support of BD²EHL^P ($\aleph^*$ reading *εὐαγγελιστάς* through an anticipation of the following word). The great intrinsic difficulty of the latter reading might perhaps excuse an editor for placing the former reading in the text; but it should be marked as doubtful. (b) In xv. 23, Dr Weiss reads *οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τοῖς . . . ἀδελφοῖς*. On the passage so read Dr Weiss founds an important argument. "The mention of the *ἀδελφοί*," he says, "in the salutation after the Apostles and Presbyters betrays the hand of the compiler, for according to ver. 6 they (i.e., the brethren) were not present at the assembly." But Dr Weiss, as he himself allows, inserts the words *καὶ οἱ* before *ἀδελφοί* "in defiance of all editors," holding that the two words must have once had a place in the oldest text and have fallen out. "All editors," however, hold an impregnable position behind a defence so strong as the following combination of MSS., $\aleph^*$ ABCD. Dr Weiss' insertion of *καὶ οἱ* is absolutely arbitrary. But if this insertion cannot be sustained, there is nothing, so far as the opening clause is concerned, which forbids our thinking that we have the exact words of the Apostolic letter. The conjecture may be hazarded that, as the Christian Church would be regarded by a Jew (cf. James ii. 2) as an association of synagogues, we have in this opening clause a formula used in communications between the elders of different synagogues (cf. Acts xxii. 5, xxviii. 21). We may compare 2 Macc. i. 1 (*τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς τοῖς κατ' Αἴγυπτον Ἰουδαίοις χαίρειν. οἱ ἀδελφοὶ οἱ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἰουδαῖοι . . . εἰρήνην ἀγαθὴν*). But, however this may be, as in 2 Macc., so here the point seems to be that the writers and the recipients of the letter are joined in the bond of brotherhood—"The apostles and the elders, brethren to the brethren in Antioch," &c. In this passage, then, Dr Weiss seems to be at fault both in his textual criticism and in his exegesis.

It argues no want of gratitude to Dr Weiss, or want of appreciation of his careful and useful work, if we say that his treatment of the relations between the groups of MSS. is too much dominated by a love of somewhat mechanical statistics. A critic who deals with the relations between different types of text needs a faculty of imagination, inspired and controlled by a knowledge of textual facts. Again, it is remarkable that in his theory Dr Weiss takes no account of, indeed he never refers to, the versions. Here we have the explanation of what I will venture to call the disappointing character of Dr Weiss' work considered as a whole. He makes no attempt to reach the goal to which it is of the first importance that textual criticism should now strive to attain.

The origin of the "Western" text is the question of all questions which must be grappled with before further advance in the textual criticism of the New Testament can be made. For its investigation the Acts affords a specially advantageous ground. Here the phenomena which are characteristic of the "Western" text are present even in an exaggerated form. Here the cross lights of harmonising influences which bewilder the student of the text of the Gospels are absent. Here the textual authorities are sufficient, yet are not perplexing by their very abundance. Here, lastly, I would venture to add that we have a clue in the occurrence of the same glosses in Codd. DE, but in different forms. The riddle challenges an answer; but Dr Weiss has not heeded the call.

Dr Blass of Halle, in his dissertation in the *Studien u. Kritiken*, referred to at the head of this article, has taken up the gauntlet which Dr Weiss has passed by. I will briefly state his theory in my own words, and then indicate some of the considerations which I believe to be fatal to it.

The Acts exists in two recensions. There is the common text. There is also the so-called "Western" text, which, as compared with the common text, is remarkable for numerous and sometimes lengthy additions. Which of these two recensions is the earlier? Not the common text. For no conceivable reason can be suggested why a copyist should engraft on to a narrative, already full and complete, additions which frequently have no special point. On the other hand, when we write out a fair copy of a composition of our own, we observe in ourselves a tendency to shorten what we have already written. Now St Luke was a poor man, and would have to do his copying out for himself. Naturally, when he transcribed his original draft for Theophilus, he omitted here and there a short paragraph or a clause. Passages from the original draft, which St Luke omitted in his "published" work, are found in Codd. DE, in the Philoxenian Syriac, in the old Latin MSS. and Patristic quotations, and in the Latin Vulgate. Thus, what appears to be an interpolated text is a genuine relic of the Apostolic age; indeed, in one sense, a more genuine form of the Book of the Acts than the common text. Naturally, Dr Blass places in the forefront of his argument the reading of Codex Bezae in Acts xi. 28 (*ἦν δὲ πολλή ἀγαλλίασις, συνεστραμμένων δὲ ἡμῶν ἔφη κ.τ.λ.*). It bears, he thinks, upon its face the stamp of genuineness. "The Antiochene Luke, by the word *ἡμῶν*, indicates his presence at that assembly. Would a scribe have introduced such a change? Equal stress does he lay on the reading of the same MS. in xii. 10 (*κατέβησαν τοὺς ἑπτὰ βαθμοὺς καὶ κ.τ.λ.*). "Here the originality of *β* [i.e., the so-called interpolations of the "Western" text] is

once for all quite obvious." These are specimens of a large number of additions found in the "Western" text, which are examined by Dr Blass in support of his theory.

Such is the theory of Dr Blass, stated briefly, but, as I hope, fairly. No doubt it is an attractive one. There must be a fascination about a theory which, as it were, opens the door of an Apostolic *scriptorium*, and gives us a glimpse of one of the Evangelists at his work. Nor ought it to be set aside on the ground of *a priori* improbability. The question is, Does it satisfy the conditions of the problem which it is intended to solve? I cannot but think that this question must be answered with a decided negative.

The objections which, as it seems to me, are fatal to Dr Blass' theory are as follows :—(1) Perhaps the first thing which strikes anyone who examines the passages in the "Western" text, to which Dr Blass calls attention, is the deplorable style of St Luke's original draft. Let anyone look at the longer interpolations of Cod. D, *e.g.*, xi. 2, xiii. 27; and, making all allowance for transcriptional degeneration, he must, I think, pronounce the style, structure of sentences, &c., as alien to that of St Luke. The fact that in these passages we note Lucan words finds an easy explanation in the supposition that an interpolator based his gloss on genuine passages of the Acts. (2) The interpolations cannot be considered apart from the remarkable text of Cod. D, in which they are embedded. The theory which offers a satisfactory explanation of the interpolations must also explain the eccentricities of the surrounding text. (3) The theory of Dr Blass does not account for the fact that the interpolations are found in different forms. (4) It neglects the indications afforded by the interpolations themselves (to say nothing of the text of which they form a part) that they are artificial additions. To mention but one point. The long interpolation as to St Peter's movements in xi. 2 is a mosaic of passages culled from the Pauline history. (5) We cannot separate the "Western" text of the Acts from the "Western" text of the Gospels. Dr Blass indeed says that the divergences from the common text in the Bezan text of the Gospels differ from the divergences found in the Bezan text of the Acts. That this is an erroneous assertion will, I believe, be clear to anyone who will collate with the common text first a few chapters of the Bezan text of the Acts and then a few chapters of the Gospels in the same MS. If the theory of Dr Blass as to the Acts is true, we must suppose that Codex Bezae preserves for us relics of the original drafts of the four Gospels. In other words, we are obliged to assume (i.) that the writers of the Gospels, as well as the author of the Acts, made rough drafts of their writings; (ii.) that these rough

drafts had a larger number of common characteristics than the corresponding books in their final shape; (iii.) that these drafts were all preserved; (iv.) that an enterprising editor of the Apostolic writings in the second century was able to collect together these very interesting relics of the Evangelists.

The theory which regards the characteristic peculiarities of the "Western" text as mainly the outcome of the use of Bilingual MSS. is far less romantic than that of Dr Blass. It views the additions which appear to him Apostolic as editorial accretions, largely as the result of assimilation of the text to passages in other parts of Scripture. But this, I venture to think, is the theory which now demands the consideration of workers who can approach it from different points of view.

The work of Dr Weiss on the Apocalypse is some two years older than his volume on the Acts considered above. In the earlier work he makes a first trial of the principles which in the later book he applies to another part of the New Testament. The investigation of the textual questions occupies a larger, the commentary a smaller, space in the former book than in the latter.

Dr Weiss holds that there are two groups of authorities for the text of the Apocalypse—(1) representatives of the later text, *i.e.*, "the emended text"—*viz.*, Codd. PQ; (2) representatives of the earlier text—*viz.*, Codd. Σ AC. Of the three latter MSS. Dr Weiss regards Cod. A as without doubt the most important representative of the older text. When unsupported by other authorities it presents the true reading some *sixty* times, this being the case with Cod. C only *four* times, with Cod. Σ only *eight* times.

The space given to the discussion of the text of the Acts precludes anything more than the merest indication of the lines followed in Dr Weiss' full and careful work on the Apocalypse.

F. H. CHASE.

Die Wahl Gregors VII.

Von Carl Mirbt. Marburg: Elwert. 4to, pp. 56. Price, M. 2.

THE question examined by Dr Mirbt is whether the election of Hildebrand to the papal chair was canonically valid. It is a question whose interest is academic and scientific rather than practical; but it acquired an accidental importance through the struggle between Gregory and Henry IV. No sooner had this struggle begun than the king, in his letter to the Romans, attacked Gregory

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as *invasor ecclesiae*; the bishops accused the pope of having seized the government of the Church *contra jus et fas*; and four years later (1080) Egilbert denies the pope's authority, on the ground that he *invasit sedem apostolicam*. In subsequent years, and in the hands of later writers, the grounds of attack on the election are expanded and defined. It had been carried through by a tumultuary concourse; it lacked the *assensus* of the German Emperor; it was forced on by the unscrupulous machinations of Hildebrand. Even menaces and bribery were freely employed, and all this although Hildebrand had been absolutely debarred from seeking or accepting the papacy by an oath which he had given to the king.

The documentary evidence for or against these various assertions is copious and involved. Dr Mirbt has thoroughly examined the whole. He maintains that we must take, as the criterion of validity, the electoral law of 1059, and, as the most trustworthy evidence of what actually took place, the letters of Gregory himself, written immediately after his elevation. If these premises be accepted, then the election of Gregory was vitiated from the outset; the tumultuary character of the proceedings, and the exclusion of the cardinals as an electoral body, are established on the evidence of Gregory himself, and this presented so radical a rejection of the fundamental paragraphs of the electoral law that the whole procedure is thereby branded as illegal.

It may be asked why the neglect of the law of 1059 was overlooked by the German court? Dr Mirbt replies that it was because that law had never been accepted, and had no official existence for the emperor, whose concern was about the manner not of the election, but of the institution of the Pope.

On the other hand, Dr Mirbt disproves the charges of corruption, of intimidation, and even of unscrupulous ambition on the part of Gregory, and if the *assensus regius* was wanting before the election, it was granted before the consecration. Hildebrand was fortunate in not finding himself opposed by a rival pope; otherwise the irregularities which undoubtedly attached to his election would have been more serious weapons in the hands of his enemies. It is probably true that he was pope *de facto* before he was pope *de jure*. It is possible that on a strict interpretation of the law he was never validly elected, but his success was the truest seal of his election, and in this case, as in so many others, the event has justified the means.

C. A. SCOTT.

Notices.

Two sumptuous publications issued by the Council of the *Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies* are before us, which are a pleasure to look at and handle. One of these is a series of Supplementary papers on *Excavations at Megalopolis*.¹ The other is a second and smaller collection of similar Supplementary papers on *Ecclesiastical Sites in Isauria (Cilicia Trachea)*.² The plates and drawings in these splendid volumes are of the best quality, and most instructive. The preparation of the second volume is due to a visit made in 1890 by Professor Ramsay of Aberdeen and Messrs Hogarth and Headlam to the territory of Isauria. The sites dealt with are of considerable ecclesiastical interest, and are most carefully described. One of these is Kojia Kalessi, examined by Laborde in 1826. It presents among other things some carvings which are pronounced to be certainly Christian, but which "show a very marked resemblance to pre-Christian designs." Another is Kestel, or Da Bazar, where the ruins, though considerable, are of less moment. And there are brief notes by Professor Ramsay on other ecclesiastical remains, which indicate what has yet to be done in the exploration of Asia Minor. The larger volume gives the results of excavations conducted by the British School at Athens between March 1890 and October 1891, at the city which was founded as a centre for a Pan-Arkadian Confederacy, after the battle of Leuctra was fought and the reaction rose against the Spartan power. The essays contributed by the several members of the party of excavation appear to give an exhaustive account of the place and the work. Little of importance seems to have been obtained in the way of inscriptions, ornaments, or works of art. But there is much that is of interest in the remains of public buildings—the vast Theatre, the Scanotheca, the Stoa of Philip, the Sanctuary of Zeus Soter. These are most fully and carefully described. Above all, a very complete view is given us of the Thersilion or Assembly Hall, with its various points of interest and its curious arrangements.

A pamphlet by P. Odilo Rottmanner, *Der Augustinismus, eine dogmengeschichtliche Studie*,³ gives the results of an independent examination of those of Augustine's writings which deal with the questions of Predestination and Grace. The main lines of Augus-

¹ Supplementary Papers, No. 1. By Ernest Arthur Gardner, William Loring, G. C. Richards, W. J. Woodhouse, with an Architectural Description by Robert Weir Schultz. London: Macmillan & Co. Pp. vii. 141. Price, 25s.

² Supplementary Papers, No. 2. By Arthur C. Headlam, Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford. London: Macmillan & Co. Pp. 31. Price, 5s.

³ München: Lentner. Pp. 30. Price, M. 0.80.

tine's teaching are forcibly presented, and the conclusion is reached that on these subjects his doctrine was not uniform, but rose to its full strength and absoluteness only in the latest period of his career.

A great boon is conferred on students of Syriac by the publication of a new *Syriac Lexicon*,¹ prepared by hands so competent as those of Dr Brockelmann. A manual dictionary of that important tongue has long been a felt want, and judging by the first part of this new Lexicon, which is now before us, we should say that that want is to be splendidly supplied. The work is handsome in form, admirably printed, convenient in size and arrangement, and moderate in price. It is not projected on the scale of Dr Payne Smith's exhaustive *Thesaurus*, which is unfinished and, magnificent as it is, must be found too costly for ordinary scholars. But it is vastly superior to anything else within reach. What students have had to trust to hitherto has been the reprint of the relative section of the seventeenth century *Lexicon Heptaglotton* of Edmund Castle; the Dictionary of Father Cardahi, issued in 1887, being a Syriac-Arabic Dictionary, meeting the need only of a limited class. In Dr Brockelmann's Lexicon we have at last a Syriac Dictionary up to date, remarkably complete though studying brevity and compactness. The words are arranged according to roots; the vocalisation is indicated by the Greek system of the Jacobites; the aids of etymology and comparative philology are used with discretion, and the meanings are wisely given in Latin, with occasional English renderings. The works of the best scholars, Lagarde and others, are laid under contribution. Words taken from the Assyrian language are to be explained by Professor Jensen of Marburg, and the Preface is to be written by Professor Nöldeke. Nothing is spared to ensure that the book shall serve all the purposes of a reliable, adequate, and convenient Dictionary. It is certain to take its place at once as the best of its kind.

We owe to Dr Gumlich of Berlin² a volume on the Creeds, which will be found of great use by students as an introduction to the chief Symbolical books of the Churches. The volume is small, but surprisingly complete. The first portion gives a history of the great Creeds, from the Apostolicum down to the Thirty-Nine Articles and the Westminster Standards. Then follows a statement

¹ *Lexicon Syriacum*. Auctore Carolo Brockelmann. Praefatus est Th. Nöldeke. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Berlin: Reuther u. Reichard. Crown 4to. Part I., pp. 80. Price, 4s. net.

² *Christian Creeds and Confessions*. A Short Account of the Symbolical books of the Churches and Sects of Christendom, and of the Doctrines dependent on them. By G. A. Gumlich, D.D., Professor of Theology. Translated from the German by L. A. Wheatley. London: F. Norgate & Co. Fcap. 8vo, pp. iv. 136. Price, 3s. 6d.

of the doctrines of the Creeds, which amounts to a compendious *Symbolik*. The last section of the book deals with the most important of the sects and the peculiarities of their dogmatic positions. There is an astonishing mass of matter, carefully digested and clearly stated, within the modest limits of the book. The account of the sects, for example, covers not only the Nestorians and others of the Ancient Church, those of the Roman Catholic and Greek Churches, and those which arose from the Reformation movement, but the Friends, Moravians, Baptists, Methodists, Anti-Unionists, Swedenborgians, Irvingites, Darbyites, and others. Generally speaking, too, the statements made on the many subjects dealt with are both accurate in fact and unprejudiced in spirit.

In his volume on *The Second Book of Kings*,¹ Archdeacon Farrar expands the narrative in the same large and forceful way in which he has already dealt with that of the *First Book of Kings*. The volume has all the well-known qualities of the gifted and industrious author's style. It is a book that we might read right through without flagging. The familiar stories of Naaman, the Shunammite, Hezekiah's sickness, and others, are told in a manner which makes them almost new. The characters of kings like Manasseh and Josiah are powerfully depicted. In addition to the ordinary expository matter, there are interesting papers on the Kings of Assyria and some of their Inscriptions, on the Inscriptions in the Tunnel of the Pool of Siloam, and on the Dates of the Kings of Israel and Judah as given by Kittel and other modern critics. There is a brief re-assertion also of the very doubtful position which the Archdeacon took up in the *Expositor* for October 1893, on the question whether there was a golden calf at Dan. The value of the book is further increased by a considerable number of footnotes on readings and passages of difficulty, and by a concise and scholarly discussion of the question of the Book of the Law which Hilkiah found in the Temple. There is less, too, of the rhetorical diffuseness into which the Archdeacon's eloquence is apt to carry him.

Dr Maclaren's second volume² covers the series of Psalms extending from the 39th to the 89th. These include some which lie specially close to Dr Maclaren's genius, and give opportunity for the exercise of the best gifts of the expositor and preacher. The volume is as attractive as the first, and shows throughout the same high qualities of penetration and spiritual sympathy. It is not a

¹ The *Expositor's Bible*. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Crown 8vo, pp. xvi. 496. Price, 7s. 6d.

² The Psalms, by Alexander Maclaren, D.D. Vol. II. (*Expositor's Library*). London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 503. Price, 7s. 6d.

book that has cost the writer little, neither is its matter merely of sermonic value. Its pages give abundant evidence of care, critical study, and acquaintance with the best that our most competent scholars have contributed to the exposition of these Psalms. Fine points, such as the use of the preposition "from" instead of "in," when the author of Psalm xlii. (verse 6) designates his locality, and the emendations of scholars like Graetz and Bickell, are noted with appreciation. The interpretation is objective, and far removed from the vices of allegorising or spiritualising. Dr Maclaren has also been at pains to study the critical questions, and has his own mind on most of them. He touches on the problem of the Davidic authorship of the fifty-first Psalm, for example, and admits it to be hopeless to explain verse 18 as David's prayer. He looks at the question whether the speaker in certain Psalms is the individual or the personified nation, and points out the difficulties attaching to the latter supposition in the case of such Psalms as the 51st. He refers the 46th to the destruction of Sennacherib's host rather than to Jehoshaphat's deliverance. The significance of Psalms like the 73rd in relation to the Old Testament view of the future is carefully stated. Few things of real moment in the interpretation of this section of the Psalter are overlooked.

Mr Bartlet's contribution to the series of *Present Day Primers*¹ is one of real merit. It is much more than a compilation. Not a few of the sections are the result of an independent study of the sources. A careful sketch of the period up to A.D. 70 prepares the way for a series of studies of the position of the Church during the Empire,—its extension and its persecutions, its rites, its literature, and the changes or developments through which its ordinances, its officials, its thought, its type of life, passed during the generations between the sub-apostolic age and the definite formation of Latin Christianity. These studies are brief, but remarkably vivid, distinct, impartial, and informing. The volume will be of great value to ministers, teachers, and general readers, who desire a compact and trustworthy manual which will introduce them to a most fruitful line of study.

To Dr Louis Thomas we are indebted for an important contribution to the literature of the Sabbath question. His volume, *Le Jour du Seigneur*,² is an elaborate and most painstaking study of the subject in its Biblical, historical, and doctrinal aspects. The

¹ Early Church History. A sketch of the first four centuries. By J. Vernon Bartlet, M.A. London: The Religious Tract Society. Fcap. 8vo, pp. 160. Price, 1s.

² Étude de dogmatique chrétienne et d'histoire. 2 vols. Lausanne: Georges Bridel & Co. 8vo, pp. 328, 220; Appendices and Contents, pp. 53. Price, F. 8.

first volume, which is also the larger of the two, is devoted entirely to the history of the Primitive Sabbath. The second volume deals with the Sabbath in ancient Israel and in Judaism, the Lord's Day, and the general conclusions deducible from the investigation. There are also considerable Appendices to both volumes, treating of the septenary number, the weeks of the Hindoos, Germans, ancient Irish, and others, the Saturnalia of the Romans, the various Jewish Festivals, the views of Luther, Calvin, and Beza, Constantine's law, the findings of the Councils of Nicaea and Laodicea, and other topics connected with the main subject.

The volume, therefore, is of rich and varied contents. Great attention is given to the question of the existence and use of analogous days of rest among the leading peoples of the ancient world, and a mass of interesting and carefully arranged matter is given on the Egyptian week, the Chaldean Sabbath, the ideas and usages of the Arabs, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Chinese, Peruvians, and African negroes. The history of the Sabbath in the Mosaic institutions during the period between Moses and Nehemiah, and in Pharisaism, is also given at length, and the position of the Lord's Day in the New Testament and in early Christian literature on to Clement and Origen is carefully stated. No pains have been spared to master the literature of the subject. Even the *Gospel according to Peter* is brought under review, and the ideas of recent critics, Halévy, Westphal, Montet, Gautier, and others, on the Pentateuch and the Mosaic Sabbath are noticed.

We cannot express concurrence with M. Thomas in all that he affirms, either in his main conclusions or in the opinions which he gives on particular points. He commits himself to statements on the existence of a Primitive Sabbath which few will now be found prepared to accept. His discussion of the Biblical witness to a primeval Sabbath of Divine appointment, and his investigation of the purpose and history of the Mosaic institution, are lacking in adequate grasp of recent Pentateuchal criticism. The critical reconstruction of the Pentateuchal books and the Levitical Law has this at least in its favour, that it relieves the original Mosaic institution of the harder and more restrictive elements, and explains in an intelligible way how these things came in at a later stage under the pressure of circumstances, which gave them a reasonableness otherwise not readily apparent. But this is not recognised by M. Thomas. The account which he gives, too, of the ancient Ethnic religions in the matter of days of sacred rest is in various points very vulnerable. On the subject of the Assyro-Chaldean Sabbath he contests, on grounds which few will regard as satisfactory, the view of Schrader and our more competent scholars that it was a *dies ater*; and the points of difference between the

Babylonian *Sabbatu* and the Sabbath of Israel are not sufficiently regarded. The idea that in the case of the Egyptians, alongside the official week of ten days, there may have been a popular or sacerdotal week of seven days, which was of more ancient date, is purely conjectural; and the statement on the existence of a Sabbath among the Chinese is misleading.

But apart from these and other positions on which it is impossible to agree with M. Thomas, the book is one of much interest, which none will read without instruction. Its great value lies in the mass of facts bearing on the origin, history, and use of the Sabbatic ordinance, which it brings before the reader. These have been gathered from many sources with the utmost diligence, and they are arranged with a skill which makes them doubly useful to the student.

The Syndics of the Cambridge University Press deserve the thanks of all students of the Textual Criticism of the New Testament for their generous help in publishing the late Prebendary Scrivener's last contribution¹ to that branch of sacred scholarship. The Introduction is a pathetic statement by the lamented author himself on the burdens, efforts, and mercies of his old age. The book itself gives an account of sixty-three manuscripts of the Greek New Testament and kindred documents. These include fifteen Lectionaries, certain palimpsest and other fragments of the Septuagint, and collations of the earliest printed editions of the Greek New Testament. But the importance of the collection lies in the fact that twenty of these documents contain the Gospels in whole or in part, five the Acts and Catholic Epistles, five the Pauline Epistles, and four the Apocalypse. Each is described with the author's well-known carefulness, and its critical worth is estimated. This is followed by a long series of collations. In a postscript Prebendary Scrivener puts on record the fact that at the close of his life he saw no cause to modify the critical principles on which he had proceeded all through his career. He sums up his convictions in these words: "That the true text of the New Testament can best and most safely be gathered from a comprehensive acquaintance with every source of information yet open to us, whether they be manuscripts of the original text, Versions, or Fathers, rather than from a partial representation of three or four authorities which, though in date the most ancient, and akin in character, cannot be made even tolerably to agree together." This, with a good deal else in the volume, is aimed of course, at the opposite critical school, and it has to be said of Dr Scrivener that his polemic was a reasonable thing as com-

¹ *Adversaria Sacra. With a Short Explanatory Introduction.* By Frederick H. A. Scrivener, M.A., D.C.L., LL.D. Cambridge University Press, 8vo, pp., ci., 170. Price, 10s.

pared with that of the late Dean Burgon with whom he went a certain way but not the whole length. But the first part of the above statement is only what would be said with equal strength by those of the other school, and the latter part is a misapprehension of Messrs Westcott and Hort's principles, which is curious in the case of an expert like Dr Scrivener.

No dissent from Dr Scrivener, however, on the subject of critical procedure, can affect the regard in which all hold his work as a collector and a collator, and this volume is to be valued for its own sake and for his. The manuscripts, though of subordinate importance and late date, have many points of interest, and all justice is done to these by Dr Scrivener. For some of them he claims high importance. This is especially the case with Evang. 556, brought to England in 1870 from Janina for the Baroness Burdett-Coutts. This is held to form one of a few cursives which, being taken from a much more ancient original, have a value as instruments of criticism much beyond what their date would imply.

Mr Denney's exposition of *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*¹ has qualities which will give it a distinct and honourable position in the series to which it belongs. It is a worthy successor to his previous volume on 1 and 2 *Thessalonians*. In some respects it gives greater scope for the exercise of his gifts of sobriety, sound sense, and lucidity. The Introduction gives a well-balanced statement of the questions regarding the number of Epistles written to Corinth and the number of visits paid by Paul to the Church there. Mr Denney argues with much force in favour of the most immediate connection between the First Epistle and the Second. The letter referred to in 2 Cor. ii. 4, viii. 8, 12, is taken to be our present First Epistle, and the need is denied of supposing an intermediate visit and an intermediate letter. We agree with Mr Denney in his remarks upon the groundlessness of the theory which identifies the intermediate letter with the last four chapters of the present Second Epistle. But more can be said, we think, for the idea that another visit was made and another letter sent by Paul. The carefulness and sanity of Mr Denney's exegesis are conspicuous in such passages as the opening paragraph of Chapter V. The difficulties of this section, and the strained interpretations which have been given it, make it a test passage. Mr Denney deals with it in a most reasonable and convincing way, rejecting the construction put upon it by Sabatier and Schmiedel as if it marked a revolution in Paul's ideas of the future, and showing that the first impression which the verses make on the reader's mind is the one which is finally justified scientifically.

¹ By James Denney, B.D. (*The Expositor's Bible*). London: Hodder & Stoughton, cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 387. Price, 7s. 6d.

The remarkable contribution made by Dr Peter Bayne to the Jubilee literature of the Free Church appears in its second edition.¹ It is a book which deserves to run through many editions. Nothing to match it has been produced on the subject since Hanna's classical *Life of Thomas Chalmers*. Not only in point of style, but in grasp of the questions at issue in the controversy which ended in the formation of the Free Church, and in just and sympathetic judgment of the great actors in that passage of Scottish history, it is far and away the ablest book we have had in recent years. This new issue is of very moderate price and attractive form. It has also a new Preface, with some of Dr Bayne's best touches. It is sure to have a wide and appreciative audience.

Under the title of *The Supernatural in Christianity*,² three Lectures are published, which were delivered in Edinburgh in reply to Professor Pfeleiderer. The book is prefaced by a statement by Professor Charteris. The first Lecture, which was meant as an Introduction to the series, is by Principal Rainy, and deals with the *Issues at Stake*. It is remarkable for its courteous treatment of the Gifford Lecturer, its broad generalisations, and its large grasp of principles. The second Lecture, which is by Professor Orr, deals with the question—*Can Professor Pfeleiderer's view justify itself?* It is a penetrating criticism of the German Professor's Anti-Supernaturalism and of his whole theory of religion. The last Lecture is by Professor Marcus Dods. It has for its subject the *Trustworthiness of the Gospels*, and refutes in an incisive manner the belated Baurian construction of the New Testament books on which Professor Pfeleiderer proceeds. The Lectures are each in its own way of marked ability; especially in view of the short notice given to the Lecturers. They make it very clear that there is another side to much that is put forth with great confidence by the advocates of a reduced Christianity.

Two volumes have reached us of the "Life Indeed" Series, edited by the Rev. W. L. Watkinson. One of these is by the Rev. T. F. Lockyer, B.A., and has the title *The Inspirations of the Christian Life*.³ It contains thirty-two sermons grouped round these topics—Great Realities, Our Assurance of Faith, The Christian Commission, Great Ideals, Our Earnest of Victory, and The Christian Hope. They are short pointed discourses, carefully written, simple in their diction, and practical in their

¹ The Free Church of Scotland, its Origin, Founders, and Testimony. By Peter Bayne, LL.D. Second Edition. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. xvi. 346. Price, 3s. 6d.

² Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. 111. Price, 2s.

³ London: C. H. Kelly. Cr. 8vo, pp. 251. Price, 3s. 6d.

aim. The other¹ is by the author of the attractive volumes *The Imperfect Angel* and *The Lesson of a Dilemma*. The subject is the Holy Spirit. The fourteen discourses in which Mr Selby follows out this great theme are well thought out and finely finished expositions of Scripture teaching. They begin with studies of the revelation and office of the Spirit under the Old Dispensation and in the Son of Man. They pass from that to the work of the Spirit in the sense of sin, the new birth, prayer, knowledge, and responsibility. They are strong, reverent, weighty discourses, in every way worthy of the author both in style and in thought. Some of them—e.g., those on *Assurance and the Larger Hope*, and *The Inward Intercessor*—are of a very high order. Mr Selby sees the need of doctrinal preaching, and in this instructive volume shows us how to give it in all the majesty of Scripture truth and in modern terms.

The volume on *Vision and Duty*² is a notable contribution to the series which is appearing under the title of *Preachers of the Age*. The opening discourse on *The Revealing Name* at once arrests attention, and it is followed by others not less striking. They are but a dozen in all, but are all on great themes nobly handled. Beyond most sermons of recent date which have come under our notice, these are characterised by manly strength both in ideas and in expression. They are eloquent, but with an eloquence in which the first thing is the weight of the thought, and in which there is nothing tawdry, artificial, or luscious. They speak out with a direct, impressive power which carries conviction with it, and makes it impossible not to attend to their message. The discourse on *National Religion* lifts the subject at once out of the groove in which it is apt to settle. Those on *Vicarious Lives*, *The Christ of History and Eternity*, *Blighting and Redeeming Vision*, if read once will be read again. The author has won a place in the front rank of English preachers, and it is enough to look into this volume to appreciate his right to such a position.

Some years ago the late Dr Milligan contributed a series of papers on the fifteenth chapter of First Corinthians to the *Expositor* and the *Monthly Interpreter*. These are now issued in book form.³ The subject of the Resurrection was much in Dr Milligan's mind. It was for a length of time the centre of his studies, and in this volume we have some of his best thoughts upon it. To no part of

¹ The Holy Spirit and Christian Privilege. By Thomas G. Selby. London : C. H. Kelly. Cr. 8vo, pp. 272. Price, 3s. 6d.

² A Series of Discourses, by Charles A. Berry. London : Sampson Low, Marston & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 232. Price, 3s. 6d.

³ The Resurrection of the Dead. An Exposition of 1 Corinthians xv. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. 246. Price, 4s. 6d.

the New Testament did he give more attention than to Paul's great chapter, the argument of which is expounded here with great care. The difficulties in the exegesis are examined as exhaustively as the limits allow, and always with the discernment which comes by prolonged and reverent consideration. The doctrinal and ethical importance of Paul's teaching in this chapter also receives admirable treatment here. The statements on the dogma of a double Resurrection, the exegesis of verses 22, 28, 34, and the discussion of the grammar in the clause "we shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed," may be specially noticed. The volume will help to keep green the memory of one who did much good work both as a theologian and as a student of the New Testament.

Canon Vaughan gives us his thoughts on *Questions of the Day, Social, National, and Religious*.¹ The book is made up of a number of addresses delivered in St Martin's Church, Leicester, on special occasions between 1870 and 1890. They make a series of short, sensible disquisitions on such topics as Politics, the Health of Towns, Capital and Labour, Co-operation, Trade Unionism, War, the Religion of the Masses, the Morality of Business. Subjects of a somewhat different kind, such as the Policy of Disestablishment, and that of Religious Equality, are also discussed in a reasonable spirit, with a frank disposition to appreciate opposing views.

Mr A. Scott Matheson² writes on *Social Problems* in the spirit of one who believes that the ultimate remedy for the evils of society is the moral remedy of the Gospel, and therefore desires to see the Church address herself to their consideration in sympathy and with steadfast purpose. He has himself thought much upon these questions, and has something to say that deserves the Church's notice. After a preliminary statement on the two types of Political Economy which have come into contrast in our day, he deals with the land question, the labour question, the liquor question, the problems of poverty, housing, sweating, the co-operative movement, and other pressing difficulties of the time. He has no novel specific to offer, neither does he make any startling or revolutionary proposal. But he shows a keen sense of the urgency of these problems, and a large knowledge of the circumstances which go to form them. He offers many just remarks on the Church's duty in relation to them, and writes in a hopeful strain with regard to the issue. His chapter on the co-operative movement is of special value, both for its information and for the view which it takes of the contribution which that movement may offer to the solution of certain troubles.

¹ By David James Vaughan, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. 241. Price, 5s.

² *The Church and Social Problems*. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Cr. 8vo, pp. 375. Price, 5s.

if it is relieved of some drawbacks which have hitherto checked its full success.

The Bishop of Durham also gives his mind on current social questions.¹ Anything which comes from one occupying his position in scholarship and in the Church carries weight with it, and the volume now before us is written with a purpose which gives it a double claim upon our attention. Its object is to show how the Gospel, in its central fact, applies to the difficulties, sorrows, and duties of life, and furnishes the solution of its problems and confusions. The topics discussed include such as these—the Social Obligations of the National Church, the Family, the Christian Idea of Alms-giving, Socialism, Co-operation. The book neither gives nor professes to suggest any adjustment of the pressing problems of nineteenth century life on the side of economical science. It looks at all these questions from the side of religion, and in the light of the Incarnation as a revelation of God's Fatherhood and men's brotherhood. It aims at showing that the message of the Incarnation attests itself by its power to "meet each new want of man as it arises," and has ever widening applications to the varying phases of modern life. On this it has much to say that is both devout and to purpose. The scope of the book is best indicated in the chapter on *The Incarnation a Revelation of Human Duties*. There it is admirably argued that in proportion as the Christian spirit, acknowledging the widest issues of God's approach to man in Christ, takes possession of society, the idea of the brotherhood of men, classes, and nations must cease to seem visionary and unpractical, and will become the instrument of directing us to a harmonious, social and national life.

The volume on *Jesus and Modern Life*,² by M. J. Savage, consists of a series of chapters on Christ's teaching on God, Man, the Kingdom, Prayer, Wealth, Poverty, and kindred subjects. It closes with three chapters on the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus and the Christ-Ideals, Christianity and the Religion of Jesus. It proceeds upon the supposition that the writers of the evangelic narratives in many cases misunderstood and misreported our Lord. It aims, therefore, first at getting behind the Gospels to His actual teaching, and then at appraising the elements of vital and permanent value in that teaching. The book is an honest, but we must add unsuccessful, and at times somewhat rough and unsympathetic attempt to expound and appreciate the words and authority of Jesus from a somewhat bald Unitarian position.

¹ *The Incarnation and Common Life*. By Brooke Foss Westcott, D.D., D.C.L. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 428. Price, 9s.

² With an Introduction by Professor Crawford H. Toy. Boston: Geo. H. Ellis. Cr. 8vo, pp. 229. Price, \$1.00.

Mr Joseph Henry Crooker¹ discusses the questions of the existence of errors in the Bible, the claims which the Bible makes for itself, and the authority which belongs to it. There are some bold assertions ventured in the book, as for example that there is no historical evidence for the re-appearance of Jesus after His Passion. The conclusion reached is that the "New Bible is the old Bible viewed in the light of all recent discoveries, taken as a religious classic rather than as a supernatural revelation, to be used, not as a rigid rule, but as a book of human experience to impart to us hope and holiness."

A handsome volume published by Messrs Longmans with the title *Manchester College, Oxford*,² gives an interesting account of the proceedings in connection with the opening of the new buildings, which are now the seat of that institution. The ancestry and history of the College are given from the year 1670, when the *Northern Academy* was established by Richard Frankland in Rathmell, with the seminaries of various forms planted from time to time in Manchester, Whitehaven, Bolton, Kendal, Warrington, and London, until its location in Oxford in 1889. The Principal's Address is largely an appreciation, both sympathetic and critical, of the Puritan Movement. Dr Martineau's speech turns on the question of freedom in theological teaching and learning, and states with his usual felicity of style his well-known views on that subject.

Mr Robinson's *The Church Catechism Explained*³ is a volume prepared by request of the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press. It begins with a short account of the history and structure of the document, and then gives succinct explanations of the General Teaching of the Catechism, the Creed, the Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Sacraments. The exposition of the Decalogue is particularly well done. The book is very suitable for those for whom it is specially intended, namely, young persons looking to the Local Examinations, and Candidates for Confirmation.

Another volume of *The Biblical Illustrator*⁴ comes to hand. It deals with the books of Leviticus and Numbers, on which it furnishes a great and varied mass of explanatory, illustrative, and hortatory matter for the judicious use of the preacher.

The Vicar of Margate publishes a volume of Sermons on the Old

¹ The New Bible and its New Uses. Boston: George H. Ellis. Pp. 286. Price, \$1.00.

² 8vo, pp. 160. Price, 5s. net.

³ By the Rev. Arthur W. Robinson, M.A., Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Wakefield. Cambridge University Press. Ex. fcap. 8vo, pp. x. 171. Price, 2s.

⁴ Edited by Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M.A. London: Nisbet & Co. 8vo, pp. 243. Price, 7s. 6d.

Testament,¹ its Inspiration, its importance as the record of a progressive revelation, the functions of the Law, the Prophets, the Hagiographa, and kindred topics. The discourses abstain from pronouncing on current critical discussions, but give a simple and well-considered statement of what the Old Testament is, and what claims it has upon our reverence.

The *Centenary History of the South Place Society*² contains four discourses by Mr Moncure D. Conway, M.A., which give a good deal of information regarding the Rev. Elhanan Winchester (the founder of the Society, and forerunner of Channing, Emerson, and Theodore Parker), Mr Fox of Norwich, and others who followed him. Most interesting are the particulars about Eliza Flower, and Sarah Flower Adams, a hitherto unpublished poem by the latter and a facsimile of her "Nearer my God to Thee."

Between October 20, 1861, and July 27, 1862, the late Frederick Denison Maurice preached a course of Sermons on the Book of Acts, in St Peter's, Vere Street. These appear to have been intended by their author for publication, but have not hitherto been given to the public. They have all been recovered, with the exception of one which seems to have dealt with the incident of Ananias and Sapphira, and are now issued under the editorship of Mr John M. Ludlow, with the help of Colonel Maurice.³ They are worth having, bearing as they do on every page the impress of the large and reverent mind, the speculative and practical genius, to which a former generation owed so much. Those on the Ethiopian Eunuch, the place of Antioch in the history of the Church, and Paul's discourse on Athens, are amongst the most telling.

*Lombard Street in Lent*⁴ is the title given to a course of sermons on social questions, delivered during the present year in the Church of St Edmund, Lombard Street. The discourses are introduced by an appropriate Preface by the Bishop of Durham, the President of the Christian Social Union. They deal with the most practical questions—Wages, Women's Work, Speculation, Betting and Gambling, Marriage Law, Recreation, and the like. The preachers include Canon Scott Holland, Archdeacon Farrar, Professor Cunningham, Archdeacon Wilson, Prebendary Eyton, Professor Shuttleworth, and others. Among the most notable discourses are two by Mr Ottley

¹ Our Inheritance in the Old Testament. Sermons by the Rev. William Bellairs, M.A. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 190. Price, 3s. 6d.

² London: Williams & Norgate. Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. 186.

³ The Acts of the Apostles: A Course of Sermons. By the late Frederick Denison Maurice. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. 348. Price, 3s. 6d.

⁴ London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. 206. Price, 3s. 6d.

on the *Ethics of Property*, two by Mr Carter on *Commercial Morality*, and two by Dean Stubbs on *The Imperial Christ and His Democratic Creed*. But strong sense and plain speech characterise the volume as a whole.

The acceptability of Mr Fr. H. Reginald Buckler's *The Perfection of Man by Charity*¹ is shown by the second edition which it has already reached. The general purpose of this devout treatise is to show that "the whole work of our perfection is reduced to the development of the one central virtue of Love, namely, the habit of Divine Charity, as being the spring of our actions, and the soul of the virtues in the supernatural order."

Two volumes of the Quarterly Series issued by Messrs Burns & Oates have come to hand. One of these is *The Life of St Francis Borgia*,² which was undertaken at the instance of the late Father John Morris. It gives an interesting account of the history of the Spanish house of the Borgias, and the career of Francis at Court, and afterwards as a member of the Society of Jesus, as Commissary-General, Vicar-General, and finally General. The other is a well-written *Life of the Blessed Antony Baldinucci*,³ the Florentine, whose missionary career belongs to the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries.

The Babylonian and Oriental Record,⁴ edited by Professor Terrien de Lacouperie, with the assistance of Messrs Pinches, Capper, St Chad Boscawen, and Professor C. de Harlez, fills an important place as a magazine of the antiquities of the East. Recent numbers have continued the valuable series of papers by Professor de Lacouperie on the *Origin of the Early Chinese Civilisation and its Western Sources*, and Professor de Harlez on *The Familiar Sayings of Kong-Fu-Tze*. Among other papers of interest we may notice one by Mr W. St Chad Boscawen on a *Hymn to Gilgames*, which furnishes another proof of the solar character of the hero of the Chaldean Epic, and a second by Mr Alfred G. Bryant on *The Great Pyramid and the Book of the Dead*, which gives an exhaustive criticism of Mr Marsham Adams' article on "The Mystery of Ancient Egypt," which appeared in the December number of the *New Review*.

The *Revue de Theologie et des Questions Religieuses*,⁵ published under the direction of MM. J. Monod, Bruston, Wabnitz, Doumergue, Leenhardt, H. Bois, and H. Meyer, is in its third year, and con-

¹ London: Burns & Oates. Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. 352.

² By A. M. Clarke. Cr. 8vo, pp. 464. Price, 6s. 6d.

³ By Francis Goldie. Cr. 8vo, pp. 388.

⁴ London: D. Nutt, and Luzac & Co; Paris: Leroux. Yearly Subscription, 12s. 6d.

⁵ Granié, Montauban.

tinues to be conducted with much success. In addition to various excellent reviews of recent contributions to theology (including Dr Fairbairn's *Christ in Modern Theology*, and Dr Stalker's *Imago Christi*), the number of 1 Mai concludes M. P. Fargues' paper on the Evolution of English Theology from the Reformation till our day, and gives a good article by M. H. Bois which examines certain metaphysical and moral objections to the pre-existence of Jesus Christ.

The *International Journal of Ethics*,¹ now largely in American hands, is being conducted with much spirit by its managing editor, S. Burns Weston, of Philadelphia, with the aid of a large Editorial Committee. The latter includes representative names from England and America, and such Continental thinkers as Giacomo Barzellotti of Naples, Alfred Fouillée of Paris, G. von Gizycki of Berlin, Harald Höffding of Copenhagen, and Fr. Jodl of Prague. The April number contains an excellent variety of articles, among which are one by President Andrews of Brown University on *The Combination of Capital*, and one by Frederick Harrison and Felix Adler on the *Relation of Ethical Culture to Religion and Philosophy*.

The handsome magazine which under the name of *The Biblical World*,² continues the useful work of *The Old and New Testament Student*, has abundance of good matter in its recent numbers. The series of papers by President Harper on the book of Genesis would of themselves make this year's issue of great value. The editorial summaries, the *Notes and Opinions*, and the digests of important articles in other journals, are models of their kind. Among other very readable papers there are several bearing on the proper use and estimate of criticism. The April number, for example, has two which deserve consideration, one by Professor Batten on *The Attitude of the Christian towards the Higher Criticism*, and another by Professor Cheyne on *The Bearing of Criticism on Edification*. The latter takes an interesting concrete instance from 1 Sam. xxii. 22-23.

The April number of the *Primitive Methodist Quarterly Review*³ is one of the best we have seen. It contains a number of articles ably written and of general interest. The one most likely to arrest attention has the title, *The Problem of "Jonah."* The writer, J. D. T., understanding the book to be a "powerful plea for the Doctrine of the Universal Love of God," examines the question of the literary form in which that plea is conveyed, and concludes that the book must be taken as "a moral romance, or as an allegory, or as a mingling of the two." He decides in favour of the allegorical

¹ Philadelphia: 118 S. Twelfth Street; London: Swan Sonnenschein.

² The University Press, Chicago; London: Luzac & Co.

³ London: James B. Knapp.

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view, and endeavours to show that one great recommendation of this is that we can then "match the moral unity of the book by an artistic unity equally striking." Under the head of *Current Literature*, we find notices of a considerable number of recent publications, including careful reviews of Professor Sanday's Bampton Lectures and Mr Millar's translation of Weizsäcker's *The Apostolic Age of the Christian Church*.

The recent numbers of the monthly Journal, *Die Katholische Bewegung in unseren Tagen*,¹ edited by G. M. Schuler, deal mainly with questions of interest to Roman Catholic readers,—the Pope's Jubilee, the Papal Encyclical on the Study of Holy Scripture, Cardinal Vaughan and the German Catholics of London, and others. There are also some of a different order, among which we may specially refer to a series on Origen and his doctrine.

The *Thinker*² continues to carry out its programme with success. Its contents are remarkably varied, but its feature is the account which it gives from month to month of current American and Continental Thought. In the April number we have very useful summaries of important papers by Professor Ley on *The Second Part of Isaiah*, the late Professor von Frank of Erlangen on *Natural Theology*, Professor Sabatier on *St Paul and the Fear of Death*, and others.

With the April number of this year *Biblia*³ commences its seventh volume. It has established itself as a useful journal of Oriental research and the American organ of the Egypt and Palestine Exploration Funds. The present number contains, among other things, papers by Dr J. H. Fradenburgh on *Scarabaei*, the Rev. J. Hunt Cooke on *Chapter lxi. of the Book of the Dead*, W. G. Hogarth on *Queen Hatsue*, and communications on an *Ancient Hebrew Scroll*, and on the question raised by Stade and others whether the Hebrews ever were in Egypt.

Another part of Steinmeyer's Studies on the Gospels⁴ is to hand. It embraces our Lord's farewell discourse, taking it in its three sections, and giving also some useful observations of an introductory nature on the reason for Christ's departure, and on the form of the address. The great truths taught by our Lord on the topics of the *Father's House*, the *Vine and the Branches*, and the *Spirit and the World*, are expounded in a way which combines the edifying with the scientific. The exegesis, though sometimes at fault in scientific precision, is generally successful in representing the spirit of our Lord's teaching, and in expressing its message.

¹ Würzburg: Woerl.

² London: Nisbet & Co.

³ Meriden, Conn.

⁴ Die Scheiderede Jesu an den Kreis der Seinen. Von F. L. Steinmeyer: Berlin: Wiegand und Grieben. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 124. Price 2 M.

Preachers will find much that is suggestive and profitable in the book.

Weizsäcker's translation of the New Testament¹ has deservedly won its way into extensive acceptance. Its merits are widely recognised; in particular, its admirable precision. In this new issue it has been thoroughly revised, and will be found, in many ways, most useful and reliable.

Mr J. T. L. Maggs contributes to the series of *Books for Bible Students* an *Introduction to the Study of Hebrew*.² It gives the main points of Hebrew grammar, and a good collection of exercises and reading lessons. The author's object is to strike the *via media* between minuteness and meagreness, and to give what will be useful not only for teaching in class but for private study. In this he has been largely successful. The book is admirably printed, and the matter is well arranged. Everything is done to carry the student easily along, step by step, and to avoid the mistake of bewildering him with details at the start.

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² London: C. H. Kelly. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 190. Price, 5s.

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The Natural History of the Christian Religion : being a Study of the Doctrine of Jesus as Developed from Judaism, and Converted into Dogma.

By William Mackintosh, M.A., D.D. Glasgow : James Maclehose & Sons. 8vo, pp. xvi. 607. Price, 10s. net.

THE subject of this book is well described in its title. The theme is the Natural History of the Christian Religion, where by natural is meant anti-supernatural or evolutionary. Accordingly the subtitle runs : being a Study of the Doctrine of Jesus as Developed from Judaism, and Converted into Dogma.

From this general view follow the postulates of the inquiry. Nor is any other name than postulate possible, for these underlying principles are directly assumed, and are nowhere argued. They are three in number.

Let it be granted, first, asks Dr Mackintosh, that the supernatural may be everywhere ignored. "In accordance with the demands of modern science, the supernatural element is rejected" (p. 5). The aim being to trace the historical genesis of Christianity along purely natural lines, "Christianity . . . must be accounted for by the way of natural development, not by the way of the supernatural." Even as regards the teaching of Jesus, when the question enters as to "how the ideas of Jesus arise and evolve themselves in His mind . . . was it, as some will say, by supernatural illumination?" That it was not is "the alternative which this volume has been written to establish" (pp. 6, 7).

Let it be granted, secondly, asks Dr Mackintosh, that the connection of Christianity with miracle of every kind be dissolved. Christianity is to be treated "as in no sense miraculous" (p. 4). Even concerning the life of Jesus, our author "holds the significance of that life as a medium of divine revelation to be independent of a miraculous element" (p. 17). "The principle or hypothesis," it is said elsewhere, on which the whole inquiry is conducted, "is that nothing miraculous has ever occurred, whether in the secular or in the religious history of mankind" (p. 87).

Let it be granted, thirdly, asks Dr Mackintosh, that there is nowhere within human knowledge a transcendent action of Deity. Divine interference of every kind must be denied. By a stretch of the evolutionary principle he believes "it possible to account for the superinduction of organic existence upon the inorganic, or for the awakening of consciousness in the unconscious forms of existence." No

influx of creative energy should be necessary to explain "the formation of the world, the dawn of life, of consciousness, and of reason or of conscience." "The anti-supernaturalist denies *in toto* any such thing as a transcendent activity of the divine power; and while he maintains that the divine action is wholly immanent in the things themselves, he also denies the possibility of any immanent activity outside of, apart from, or supplementary to that aboriginal, omnipresent, and ever-working immanence which takes shape and form in the nature, purpose, and constitution of the universe. . . . At no point is it permissible to call in the idea of an exceptional exercise of divine power, whether immanent or transcendent, supplementary to that which is eternally operative" (pp. 34, 35).

From such premises it is evident to any one who will take the trouble to think, or who is fairly familiar with the course of doctrinal discussion during the last hundred and fifty years, what general results will follow.

The results of such postulates are both negative and positive. Amongst the negative results of such a general attitude will be the following:—The dogma of the Incarnation of Jesus will be discarded. The sinlessness of Jesus in the moral realm and his infallibility in the intellectual sphere will be denied. The narratives in the Synoptic Gospels, which represent Jesus as exercising at will miraculous powers over nature, animate or inanimate, must necessarily be explained away. The evidence for the bodily resurrection of Jesus will be regarded as having no detail that is trustworthy. Like all predictions, the supposed predictions of Jesus will be said to be *vaticinia post eventum*. And all these consequences of the initial standpoint appear clearly in Dr Mackintosh's book.

And such a *Weltanschauung*, as everybody who has read at all in recent apologetic literature also knows, has a series of positive results. Our Lord Jesus Christ becomes a great religious teacher; or, if you will, a remarkable, the most remarkable, religious genius, the Shakespeare of religion. The Synoptic Gospels are largely mythical. From these Gospels, by the aid of conjecture, of logical obedience to certain rationalistic principles of inquiry, and perhaps of a personal sense of congruity or incongruity, an outline at least can be constructed of the life and teaching of Jesus. The life of Jesus is that of the High Priest and bright Exemplar of the absolute form of natural religion. The teaching of Jesus radiates from the central idea of the Kingdom of a Divine Father. That teaching is explicable as the outcome of a purely natural development, carrying on the stages of previous Jewish thought to a slightly higher level. The miraculous narratives of the Gospels, to-day incredible, are the outcome of a transformation wrought by the

mysticising tendency of loving disciples. Paul is the founder of Christian dogma. Dogma is an aberration from the method of Jesus. The fourth Gospel is very largely speculative and mythical, expressly attempting to find a basis in thought and fact for the Catholic tendencies of Paul and of Gentile Christianity (as contrasted with the narrower trend of Jewish Christianity). The Apocalypse is a Jewish degradation of profounder Christian conceptions. The course of Christian history has been a discipleship of Paul rather than of Jesus. All these positive consequences as well of the initial standpoint, also appear clearly in Dr Mackintosh's book, as might have been anticipated. As to the use of conjecture, he distinctly says, "as we do not unreservedly accept the synoptic, or, let us say, the canonical data for the genesis of Christianity, it follows of course that in this inquiry we must proceed to some extent by the way of conjecture, which may be defined as an inference from the known to the unknown" (p. 48). Indeed, Dr Mackintosh states that his endeavour throughout has been "to explain the genesis of our religion by reference to certain simple and well-recognised principles of human nature, or to analogous facts, *taken in conjunction with what we conceive to be the critical deposit of the canonical record*" (the italics are the reviewer's). And with respect to the growth of dogma, he says in so many words (p. 55), "As for the dogma of the early Church, we shall see that it was no true development of the thought of Jesus, but mainly a sensuous representation or plastic metamorphosis of it, dictated by pious feeling and imagination; a view of the dogma which, in fact, explains its tenacious possession of the mind of Christendom, and the power of its appeal to this day to the common heart" (*sic*).

Nevertheless, let it be frankly stated that there is originality in Dr Mackintosh's presentation. His book shows much hard and earnest work. For the most part, the spirit towards opponents is admirable, although a few sentences have been allowed to remain which are offences against the law of the highest charity. Everywhere there is a consistency and thoroughness in applying and elaborating his first principles which is worthy of all praise. A tenacious and resolute grip on the truth we desire to teach always lays the reader under obligations, whether he accepts the teaching or not. To render disproof easy is almost as great a benefit to confer as facile proof, and Dr Mackintosh has a right to say that, "conducted without faltering or reserve, the discussion may have one of two results—either it may discredit the supernatural theory of Christianity, or it may go far, in the way of a *reductio ad absurdum*, to demonstrate the untenableness of the anti-supernatural theory." There is, too, a reverent tone and a religious spirit everywhere,—there is an evident wish to guide the perplexed and to

reassure the despairing, which are as rare as they are desirable in writings of this class. Compare this volume, for instance, even with Strauss's *Streitschriften* or Martineau's *Seat of Authority in Religion*, and its superiority in reverence and earnestness and scholarship is very manifest.

And, as has been said, there is originality in the book. There is some originality in plan, and much originality in detail. As to the general plan, "there are three propositions," Dr Mackintosh says, "the truth of which will be made to appear in the following pages ; first, that Judaism and Christianity denote the successive stages of one long evolution of religious thought and sentiment : . . . secondly, that the phases of this long evolution in its decisive moments have been largely recorded in the form of myth and dogma, so that a miraculous aspect has been imparted to the evolution which in itself went on naturally and rationally, or according to the laws of our spiritual and social nature : and, thirdly, that the myth and dogma have mingled as important factors in the evolution itself (pp. 4, 5). In the sweep of this plan some originality appears. The filling out of the plan demands chapters on the "Theory of Anti-supernaturalism," "Jesus simply a Teacher," "Rise and Growth in Israel of Idea of Kingdom of God," "Transformation of this Idea by Jesus," "Pharisaic Idea of Righteousness and of the Religious Relation," "Evangelic Idea as Taught by Jesus," "How far the Doctrine of Jesus was Original," "That Jesus claimed to be the Messiah," "His Journey to Jerusalem and Death," "The Christophanies," "Mythical Transformation of Evangelic Tradition," "Relation of Myth to Dogma," "Conversion of St Paul," "His Doctrine of Atonement by the Death of Jesus," "Pauline Dogma as Involved in that of Atonement," "Conflict between Jewish and Gentile Christianity," "Post-Pauline and Gnostic Period," "The Fourth Gospel," "Conclusion." An appendix follows on the "Application of the Theory of Anti-supernaturalism to the Christian Dogma."

The most notable contents of the book, to which the student of apologetics may turn as the more important and original contentions of Dr Mackintosh, are—the points he makes concerning the teaching of Jesus (chap. iii.), which he calls *autosoteric* (a peculiarly awkward term, seeing that it has no relation to *esoteric* or *exoteric*) ; the attempt to explain by natural means the Christophanies, or appearances of the Risen Lord (chap. xi.) ; the endeavour to show the mythical transformation of evangelic tradition (chap. xii.) ; and what is called the Heterosoteric doctrine of Paul (chap. xv.).

What Dr Mackintosh means by *autosoteric* is this. According to the teaching of Jesus, he says, religion is a very simple matter ; it is a belief in God as our heavenly Father, a confidence in His

forgiveness of the sins that are past, and an endeavour in this confidence to live the life of Jesus. This is a saving of oneself, so to speak. "We repeat, therefore," to use his own words, "that the doctrine of Jesus is autosoteric. The one great and special lesson which He enforced was the duty of self-abnegation, of self-extrication from evil,—the pursuit, that is, of the ideal life, stimulated and sustained by the conviction of the divine forgiveness of our lapses and shortcomings" (p. 153). "In consideration of the honesty and sincerity of the individual, God, who looks to the heart and the intention, takes the will for the deed, which is what is meant by divine forgiveness." There is a truth here, but not the whole truth. Has Dr Mackintosh tried his Gospel where there has been any profound sense of sin?

Paul's doctrine, on the contrary, is called *heterosoteric*, because it is a doctrine of being saved by another—by the atoning sacrifice of Jesus. "Profoundly sensible of his obligation to Jesus," writes our author, "the apostle yet mistook the nature of that obligation. He conceived of Jesus, not as the originator of a great idea, but as the generator of a dynamic force in the life of man, as the source of a dæmonic rather than of a moral influence in the souls of believers" (p. 375). "One way or another, the Apostle was aware of his dependence on Jesus, but he mistook or exaggerated the nature of his dependence, and explained his whole experience as the effect of an atonement, or, speaking generally, as the pouring in of a life from outside" (p. 376). Therefore Dr Mackintosh can speak of "the sudden somersault or transition in the mind of Paul from the purely spiritual and autosoteric views of Jesus back to the dogmatic and heterosoteric Jewish point of view" (p. 386).

Such inquiries as those of Dr Mackintosh must be expected, and must be met; they are the outcome of certain apparent first principles of which our age is enamoured. They have their German parallels in the writings of Wendt, and Baldensperger, and Grau upon the Self-consciousness of Jesus. It is by no means difficult to meet them, but the battle is more likely to be decisive when it is joined on first principles.

Upon a few prejudices of Dr Mackintosh's it would be a duty to speak, but for the limitation of space. Why should orthodoxy be called stagnant? Is it only in Christian doctrine that an evolution which observes a strict law of continuity is to be censured? And why is orthodoxy to be regarded as necessarily against all freedom of thought and discussion? Is there not as much unwillingness to receive new views in the circles of physical science as in the ranks of Christian doctrine? And is it not eminently desirable that every new view should run the gauntlet before it is received into the halls of honour? And is not Dr

Mackintosh's expressed disbelief in the value of the study and exegesis of Scripture a somewhat curious survival in these days of ardent study of the Science of Biblical Theology? And how comes it that the idea of infallibility seems a sort of red rag to him? Are we not all, even himself, anxious for one sort of infallibility if we can but get it—the infallibility of truth?

But the present reviewer prefers to grapple with Dr Mackintosh just upon those postulates which he assumes without proof. Are these postulates true? Can they for a moment be admitted by anyone who is concerned for solid standing-ground and firm footing? Will those postulates commend themselves to any philosophical mind which is determined to think carefully, rigorously, and consecutively? One consideration alone will show them to be inadequate, the consideration as to the nature of religion, or, as Dr Mackintosh prefers to say, the nature of the religious relation.

Now, what is the nature of the religious relation? What is the satisfactory explanation of what is called the religious sense? Whilst Dr Mackintosh is manifestly interested in the religious relations of men, it does not appear that he anywhere analyses that religious relation itself, unless the Hegelianism of pp. 54, 55 is to be regarded as such an analysis. It may be wholly without intention that this omission occurs, but the omission is vital. For the analysis of the religious relation declares the insufficiency of the postulates upon which he ventures to build his entire inquiry.

What, then, is the religious relation? The question is fundamental; and it is being more clearly recognised than ever to-day that it is fundamental. Great systems of thought have been built upon wrong answers to this question; and the answers once proved erroneous, the systems have come tumbling about the ears of their makers or of their pupils. That man sustains religious relations, all are agreed. That he has connections of a spiritual as well as of a physical kind all are coming to allow. But what exactly is this religious relation?

Many answers, in the philosophical research of the last hundred years, have been returned to the query. But from the point of view in hand, these answers may be all classed under a very few heads, indeed, under a couple of heads. Many theories of the religious relation *attribute the genesis of that relation to man*, to his madness or his fear, to his fraud, to his selfishness, to his self-projection, to his worship of his ancestors, to his sense of dependence, to his sense of need, whether of welfare, or of fuller life, or of some ideal, to his sense of the infinite, to his moral sense, to his intellectual qualities, to his heart. But many theories of the religious relation *attribute its genesis to God*. And the whole trend of the Philosophy of Religion is towards the Divine origination of religion.

Partial views, as of a primeval revelation, the favourite view of the seventeenth century theologians, or as of an innate idea of God, the influential opinion of Descartes, or as of a double revelation in the heart of man and in nature, the prominent conception of Lord Herbert of Cherbury and the Deists, such partial views of the origination of religion in God have had their day, and have ceased to be. But a long line of thinkers, of great note and acumen, have declared more and more clearly for the origination of religion in God. Here stand men like Herder, Jacobi, Franz von Baader, Krause, D. W. Simon, Dorner (father and son), Frank, Biedermann, Kaehler, Heman, Gloatz, De la Saussaye, Pfleiderer, Harris, Kellogg, Knight. To all these, whatever be their minor opinions, the religious relation is primarily a religious intuition, where some revelation made by God is the object seen, and man is the subject seeing. As Franz von Baader has put it :—"It is the radical error of the rationalistic Philosophy and Theology that it thinks it can know God without God, or know about God without Him, from human reason alone. . . . By God Himself we are enabled to know God."

Now, if this view be correct, if religion results from a direct and immediate connection between the spirit of man and the Spirit of God,—and to this result the whole history of the Philosophy of Religion seems to point,—what becomes of Dr Mackintosh's postulates? In religion we have a natural relation, because it is a relation of man; but in religion we have a supernatural relation, because it is a relation of God to man. In religion we have a natural relation; but in religion we have a miraculous relation, since in religion God Himself expressly intervenes in human life. In religion we have the action of an Immanent Deity, because God reveals Himself within man; but in religion we have the action of a Transcendent Deity, because it is God who freely and deliberately reveals Himself. In Religion, that is to say, we have that higher unity, in which the world-long antinomies of natural and supernatural, natural and miraculous, immanence and transcendence, are unified. Moreover, if religion be primarily God's approach to man, to insist on the natural and deny the supernatural, to accentuate the natural and deny the miraculous, to emphasise the Divine Immanence and deny the Divine Transcendence, so far from showing respect for religion, is to be irreligious.

Further, if the religious relation originate in God,—be, in fact, a sort of incarnation,—then all that the orthodox mean by prophecy, and inspiration, and the gift of the Holy Ghost, are Aspects of Religion, which the elementary religious relation renders intelligible. Nay, by the analysis of the religious relation, light is thrown upon, and credibility brought to, the crowning orthodox dogma of the Incarnation. In the religious relation, indeed,—a basis in which

experience, philosophy, science, and theology, seem tending to agreement,—there is given a foundation of an entire system of thought, which cannot, of course, be unfolded here, but which is much more in harmony with the evolution of Christian doctrine than Dr Mackintosh's.

ALFRED CAVE.

Paul Sabatier : Life of S. Francis of Assisi.

Translated by Louise Houghton. London : Hodder and Stoughton, 1894. 8vo, pp. 478. Price, 9s. net.

WHY was the Reformation, the only effective protest against the corruption of the Roman Church, postponed until the sixteenth century? Why, when it did come, did it come from the North? When and how did the South, once the radiating point of knowledge and intellectual impulse, abdicate its hegemony, and the Roman leave it to the Teuton to enfranchise Europe? Questions such as these press the more urgently for solution the more closely we study the preceding centuries. All the materials for a spiritual revolution were present in Italy of the twelfth or thirteenth century, indignation deep and strong against the corruptions of the Church, widespread antagonism against its sacramental and hierarchical system, an enthusiasm for a purer Gospel as deep and self-sacrificing as any that marked the German Reformation. In the cities just emerging into freedom there was a strong spirit of liberty and liberalism. Nor were men wanting who only lacked success to set them beside Luther or Calvin. What saved the Church, then, from a disaster even more irretrievable than that which befell it three centuries later?

It is only when we get below the surface, which has been rolled so smooth by ecclesiastical history, that we discover how precarious was the position of the Church, and even of the Christian faith in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The Manichæan heresy had been suppressed but never eradicated. Reinforced of late by immigrants from the East, Bogomiles, Paulicians and the like, it had gained new strength and new boldness. Under the new name of Catharist, the old poison of Gnostic dualism was eating away the faith of the people. Certain modifications in their teaching, the recognition of the whole New Testament, and a plausible theory of the pre-existence of souls, softened the antithesis to Catholic doctrine. Criticism of the Church, which was only too ready to hand, together with a fictitious austerity on the part of the preachers, opened the way for their doctrine; and so vigorously and successfully did they push their propaganda, that at the close

of the twelfth century, Italy was honeycombed with sects, which it would be straining language as well as charity to describe as Christian. The evidence of William of Newbridge is sufficiently distinct; "in Gaul, Spain, Italy, and Germany those infected with this plague were as many as the sands of the sea."

Not less hostile to the Roman conceptions of Christianity, though more true to the faith of the Primitive Church, were the followers and the successors of Arnold of Brescia and Waldez of Lyons, men who had derived from some unknown source, or rediscovered for themselves, the religion of Christ in its uncorrupted form. The Roman Curia had been wiser to have made a place for these evangelical preachers within her borders. That he treated Francis differently from Waldez, when he came on the same errand, shows that Innocent III. had not failed to learn the lesson. But meanwhile the Waldensians were abroad in the land, their consciousness of opposition to the Church sharpened by her hostility, wandering gossellers, finding ready access to the hearts of the people.

These were only the more obvious of the forces which were at work in active opposition to the Roman Church. Its own weakness is best seen in their presence and success. The meaning of this continuous and ever-widening stream of heresy, whether real or only branded as such, is surely this, that the Church failed to satisfy either by its doctrine or its worship the conscience of the people. The Christian life, and especially the life of the clergy, was so universally below the popular standard, that devoutness in its simplest form wielded almost unlimited authority, and criticism clad in the rudest eloquence swept away the last remains of allegiance to Rome.

That the Church of Rome at this period escaped reformation or overthrow is one of the marvels of history; and of all the single causes to which its escape might be attributed, none was more effective than that which moved among men under the name of Francis of Assisi. Not without reason do the Italian painters represent Francis and Dominic propping a falling Church. Not without reason does Dante describe Francis as *una Rota della Biga*, one of the two wheels of the chariot in which Roman Christianity safely passed its peril.

Francis was a mediator, a temporary and unconscious mediator between the two opposing forms of Christianity. He incarnated within the Roman Church the ideal which was floating before the mind of his generation, that ideal which had been described, hailed, and all but realised outside the Church. What the Church contributed was simply a platform on which that ideal could be displayed. In his person men saw reconciled the antithesis between a hierarchi-

cal and an individualist Christianity. Those outside the Church, to whom salvation was the fruit of direct and individual contact with the Spirit of Christ, sanctification the effect of immediate personal communion, saw in Francis one who held these views with passionate intensity, and at the same time revered and obeyed Pope, Prelate, and Priest, who incarnated the opposing idea of official intermediaries between man and God. Those within the Church, on the other hand, who had been content heretofore with a salvation mechanically dispensed and mechanically appropriated, were roused and startled by the example and the appeals of a man whose life was a speaking evidence of direct contact with God.

In the new biography of S. Francis now before us, M. Sabatier has gained a well-deserved triumph. The brilliant success of his work, the enthusiasm with which it has been received, is not without interest in itself. It is a repetition of the same phenomena which attended the publication of Didon's "Life of Christ," and of Lasserre's translation of the New Testament. They seem to testify to a famine of religious nourishment—an appetite whose existence has been almost forgotten, and sometimes denied, for genuine religious facts, for the record of indubitable spiritual experience. M. Sabatier writes sympathetically, with the sympathy of an artist perhaps, rather than that of a disciple. He shows a delicate discrimination in handling the miraculous element in his subject. Whatever was true for S. Francis is sufficiently true for him. It becomes part of the material to be collated. In the matter of authorities, he represents a re-action, and a successful one, against the results of Higher Criticism applied to the sources. It had been only too easy to show the presence of "tendency" in each of the contemporary biographers. Even before the Saint had reached his death-bed, it was clear that his life would be dismembered in the interests of two contending parties. As each party in succession got the upper hand, it took care to re-edit the life of the Founder, and did not hesitate to obliterate such records as reflected opposing views. After the final triumph of the hierarchical party, the "Life of S. Bonaventure" became the only authorised one, and the real S. Francis was changed into a lay figure, draped round with gaudy miracles, under which it was useless to look for an explanation of the genesis of the order or of the ideas of the man. Modern criticism made short work of the bulk of this material, and found itself with little more than the first biography of Thomas of Celano, and the narrative of the Three Companions, neither of them free from tendency. The critics, however, had neglected the warning of their own proverb, "Man muss nicht das Kind mit dem Bade ausschütteln," *Scottie*, "When ye skail the bath dinna coup the bairn." And M. Sabatier, returning to an investigation of the sources with a

loving no less than critical eye, has recovered a great deal that had been too hastily thrown away. Having gathered from the simplest and earliest sources material for a firm outline of Francis' life, aims, and character, and using that as a guide, he finds in the rejected material fragments of thought and traits of character which he offers as part of the real Francis, because they fit.

The result is a re-vivification of a character which we can admire as a saint and sympathise with as a man. We are enabled to understand, if not wholly yet better than before, the secret of his success. And we perceive also his failure, we appreciate its cause. What gives to this biography, as it gave to the life, a kind of tragic unity, is the steady approach visible to the spectator, invisible to the Protagonist, of this inevitable failure. The *Até* of the inevitable is as plain to see overshadowing Francis as it was to those who watched Oedipus at Colonus.

The book owes much of its charm, as the author owes much of his power, to the fact that he has studied his subject on the scene of its development. Herein his book differs from what has hitherto been the most popular biography of Francis in English. It is steeped in the mystic atmosphere of Italy. He knows the "woman-country loved of earth's male lands" as a lover. It is not all and always one and the same land to him. He knows its changing moods, its passion, and its indolent quiescence. He has felt the distinctive character of its various parts. Umbria is more than a geographical expression to him. It has a character, almost a personality, of its own, which reflects itself in its people, its painters, and its saints. So with the Casentino, the Romagna. M. Sabatier makes us feel that the Saint as he travels is changing skies. He knows also the life of the people, that life in which S. Francis found his sphere and his opportunity.

Sympathy such as this with Nature, and with the manifold Nature of Italy, is essential in a true biographer of S. Francis. He cannot be understood in the study. He was mentally and spiritually a child of this Nature. His pellucid mind, into which no streams of alien thought or learning poured disturbance, reflected these skies, that sunshine, that *daedal* life of Nature in central Italy, which stretches from the vine and the oleander to the pine tree and the gentian. His life was like a picture by Claude, with a temple and a few figures on a small scale, the rest God's earth and God's sky.

It is altogether a worthy biography that M. Sabatier has produced, written out of a full knowledge of the facts, and with an insight into character, a sympathy for the inner life of S. Francis, an appreciation at the same time of his child-like gaiety and grace which give the book a great charm. The translation is good and

readable, and will give English readers something, though not all, of the flavour of the original.¹

The main events and characteristics of S. Francis' life are well established and familiar. It is in the filling in of the details in the estimate and explanation of his influence that the skill of the biographer finds scope. Two and twenty years of childhood and youth were devoted to the joys of physical life. Francis was immersed in the gaiety and frivolity of a southern city, the leader of a band of reckless boon-companions. There follow other two and twenty years devoted with yet greater intensity to the joys of spiritual life. Francis had become the leader of an enthusiastic band of Missionaries of the Gospel. The gaiety remains, the sensitiveness to light and colour, to joy and love, the fascination which charms men to his side. Francesco Bernardino and Francis of Assisi are the same man. But they live in two different worlds. As gaily as the one led his companions out for a frolic, so gaily did the other head his band of friars on a preaching expedition. The sunny, affectionate disposition which drew to him the hearts of the young nobles of Assisi, knit to him the souls of Bernard, Leo, and Egidius. Towards the end of both periods of his life he passed into cold shadows. Such a temperament would be naturally exposed to severe depression, and before his death, as well as before his conversion, the heart of Francis was tortured by grief, by disappointment, and foreboding of the future. His conversion was not the laying aside of any part of his being, it was a new direction given to all his energies. With the same vehemence with which he had enjoyed wealth he now stripped himself of all earthly possessions. As he had given himself without reserve to the pursuit of pleasure, so now he flung himself into the preaching of the Gospel—without reserve.

How are we to explain this *volte face*? It cannot be explained. Already, in his conversion, Francis ranges himself with Paul and Augustine: in its apparent suddenness, its completeness, its reality, and its mystery. The most painstaking researches, the most acute psychological analysis, only bring us a few steps nearer to the impenetrable secret, the place, the moment, the crisis in which life was changed by a vision of Christ. But there were predisposing causes? No doubt. Disgust, *ennui*, disappointment; a heart that was tender to the sorrows of the poor and the sufferings of the

¹ Many of M. Sabatier's epigrammatic phrases have lost their point, and some of them their truth. On p. 248, "Men of loving hearts seldom have a perfectly clear intelligence," is an unsatisfactory rendering of "Les hommes qui ont le cœur très aimant ne sauraient avoir l'intelligence tout à fait claire"; p. 247, "squarely argues" for "accuse bien nettement." We have noticed mistakes or misprints on pp. 154, 210, 226, 404 (1219 for 1262).

afflicted, and possibly some other cause which will never be discovered. The turning point in his outward life was that unexpected and unexplained return from Spoleto, and abandonment of a military career, on which M. Sabatier has no new light to shed. From that point Francis was a seeker. It was only a question of time when he would find. With almost breathless interest we watch him through the intervening weeks. Ever and anon there lodges in his heart a new word from Scripture, or perchance some pilgrim-borne echo from Joachim of Fiore, or from S. Hildegard in Germany. He himself was unconscious of any human influence. "Nemo mihi ostendebat quod deberem facere, sed ipse altissimus revelavit mihi quod deberem vivere secundum formam sancti Evangelii." Impressions embraced in solitude, imprinted by meditation on the hill-slopes of Subasio, were kindled into conviction by worship in the tottering shrine of S. Damian.

"One day Francis was praying before the poor altar: 'Great and glorious God, and thou, Lord Jesus, I pray ye, shed abroad your light in the darkness of my mind. Be found of me, Lord, so that in all things I may act only in accordance with thy holy will.'

"Thus he prayed in his heart, and little by little it seemed to him that his gaze could not detach itself from that of Jesus; he felt something marvellous taking place in and around him. The sacred victim took on life, and in the outward silence he was aware of a voice which softly stole into the very depths of his heart, speaking to him an ineffable language. Jesus accepted his oblation. Jesus desired his labour, his life, all his being; and the heart of the poor solitary was already bathed in light and strength." "Ab illa hora vulneratum et liquefactum est cor ejus ad memoriam Dominicae passionis."

The conversion of S. Francis was something far more than a renunciation of wealth, a Betrothal to Poverty. Art, seizing upon that which it could depict, has exaggerated this the secondary issue of his conversion. What lay behind that, and was central to all the life that followed, was an adoring faith in Christ as the crucified Saviour. It was passionate love to his Lord that made him faithful to his Spouse. Already, before his conversion, he had been a suitor of "the dame to whom none openeth pleasure's gate more than to death." Recognising, perhaps, a similarity of circumstance between himself and the Young Ruler, he had already carried out the spirit of Christ's command: "Sell all that thou hast and give to the poor." He had now received the reward of obedience. Forsaking riches, he had found Christ. Now, out of love and imitation of his Lord, he vowed himself to life-long poverty. In the idea itself there was nothing new. It was already

current, and already practised. It was the natural recourse of any theoretic reaction against the dominant Christianity. It was the way in which Francis approached the idea of Evangelical Poverty which distinguished him from all others. Others had recourse to the Imitation of Christ, of which Evangelical Poverty was but a part, as a means of salvation. Even S. Bernard aimed at the appropriation of the atonement by Imitation. For Francis Poverty was not a means, but a consequence of salvation. He had already by faith appropriated Christ; the imitation of Him followed as a corollary of conduct.

Francis had not to wait long before his conscience laid upon him another duty besides Poverty. It was revealed to him, as to Waldez, in the hearing of the Lord's command: "Wherever ye go, preach, saying, 'The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.'" The next day he went up to Assisi, and began to preach. What, then, was the Gospel which he preached? He preached Christ, repentance, salvation by faith. He aimed frankly at conversion. But conversion was not, in his view, something vague and imperceptible, which is manifest only to God and the hearer. He would have immediate and practical proofs. Men must give up ill-gotten gains, renounce their feuds, be reconciled with their enemies. "The enemy of the soul for him, as for Jesus,} was avarice, understood in its largest sense—that is to say, that blindness which constrains men to consecrate their hearts to material pre-occupations, and deprives them of infinite joys which they alone can know who are the disciples of poverty and love." To rid himself of all superfluity was for a man to find the only true liberty. That done, he was to continue to live as before, labouring for his daily bread, giving to the poor what was not required for immediate use. Francis condemned neither the family nor property. His gospel was the Gospel of the Sermon on the Mount, illuminated by the sacrifice of the Cross.

But some, among whom he counted himself, were called to higher service and to absolute poverty. Those who were to take the place of the Apostles, and receive the same commission, must observe the same rules. It was at first for himself alone that he accepted, with literal exactness, the Master's word in sending out the Twelve: "Take nothing for your journey, neither stave nor scrip, neither bread, neither money." If he enjoined Evangelical Poverty on others, he accepted Apostolic Poverty for himself; and as men gathered round him who were not only converts but disciples, partaking in his enthusiasm and desiring to share his work, the one condition of admission to the circle was the whole-hearted acceptance of the same Apostolic Poverty.

It is not difficult to understand the amazing success which attended the preaching and the example of Francis. Its spirit was

undoubtedly the spirit of Christ ; and it was clad in a form which, while evidently based upon Scripture, offered itself to the prompt recognition and appreciation of the common people. Add the contrast which these men everywhere presented to the pomp, the indifference, and the immorality of the clergy, the emotional sensitiveness of the populace at the period, revealed in the Child-Pilgrimages, the Crusades, and the success of enthusiasts of all kinds, and even the wild-fire spread of the Franciscan movement, becomes comprehensible.

Only a cruel irony of history has associated the name of S. Francis with the foundation of a "Mendicant Order." The development of his circle of disciples into an order was neither part of his original intention nor in accordance with his desire at any time. The so-called "First Rule" was no "rule" at all. It was a collection of mottoes—the texts of Scripture enjoining Preaching and Poverty—on which the first fellowship was based. When interpretation was needed, or application to new circumstances, Francis was the natural exponent. He delighted to regard himself as head of a family. Within a few years the very success of his method destroyed its possibility. Step by step he saw organisation forced upon him from without, and, along with organisation, the materialising of his Ideal. It is easy to say that the Ideal was impracticable, impossible ; that it belonged to "the heroic, for earth too hard." It was in the grandeur and simplicity of that Ideal that Francis showed his inspiration ; it was in its destruction that he suffered martyrdom. "The rout of an army," as M. Sabatier says, "is nothing to the destruction of an idea."

Equally far from his purpose was the creation of a body of religious mendicants. Next to the duty of Preaching Francis placed the duty of Labour. He only authorised begging when the day's labour had failed to provide the day's food. It was a necessity for men who had begun by stripping themselves of all possessions. He dismissed a brother who refused to work. At the close of his life, in that Will in which he pathetically sought to re-establish the vanished outlines of his idea, he laid down "*Firmiter volo quod omnes laborent.*"

The force which eventually transformed the Poverello's scheme was the far-sighted policy of the Curia ; its agent, Cardinal Ugolino, afterwards Gregory IX. Rome had learned a lesson since her rejection, thirty years before, of the enthusiasm created by Peter Waldez, and by him put at her service. That movement had survived the coldness of the Pope and the anathema of Verona. It had developed into an alien and a hostile Church which the fiercest persecution had been unable to destroy. Innocent III. was too prudent to force Francis into being a heretic. A

movement which was not consciously critical of the Church, which was essentially a popular one, and one that promised to provide a body of preachers who, unlike the monks and the clergy, were in actual contact with the people, was one full of promise for the Papacy. Only it must be controlled. Ugolino was entrusted with the delicate function.

In the hands of this astute churchman the saint was helpless. He struggled pathetically to retain for the one idea, which was for him supreme, a controlling place. The kid was seethed in its mother's milk. His highest motives were worked upon for the destruction of his own Ideal. The modesty and humility and submission which Francis not only preached, but practised with assiduous success, were made a snare to him. "How many times had he not been reminded that a great association, in order to exist, must have precise and detailed regulations? Of course, Francis' humility was doubted by no one, but why not manifest it not only in costume and manner of living, but in all his acts? He thought himself obeying God in defending his own inspiration, but does not the Church speak in the name of God?" Francis had not the intellectual ability to enable him to cope with persistent and repeated attacks of this kind. Only by some such jugglery can he have been persuaded to consent to the dropping of one of his three fundamental precepts, "*Carry nothing with you.*" After that his heart died within him. He abdicated his headship. "From henceforth," he said to the friars, "I am dead for you, but here is Brother Pietro, whom you and I will all obey"; and, prostrating himself before him, he promised him obedience and submission.

Change followed rapidly. The new Rule of 1223 had little in common with that of 1210 except the name. There was nothing now to arrest the double tendency to mitigate the vow of poverty and to multiply ordinances, to substitute outward for inward piety. Almost everything done in the Order after 1221 was done either without Francis' knowledge or against his will.

There is not a particle of evidence to show that Francis had changed his own mind. He bowed in submission to what he thought rightful authority, but he bowed a broken heart. The Will proves it. It is in spirit, if not in words, a revocation of the Rule of 1223. Without knowing it, he was entangled in the antithesis between Romanism and Protestantism. He was torn by the contradictory demands of conscience and authority. At times he longed for the spirit of passive obedience, *perinde ac cadaver*. But far below that longing there was the consciousness of the freedman of Jesus Christ. "*Nullus tenetur ad obedientiam in eo ubi committitur delictum aut peccatum.*"

S. Francis can only gain in the estimation of mankind by being

separated from the legendary marvels attributed to him by a later generation. His ideal, also, can only gain when seen as he conceived it, and as he and his immediate disciples put it in practice. The service which he did to the Church of Christ was, that in an age of shameless infidelity and unfaithfulness, when faith and morality were laid in one grave, he recalled men to Christ as their Saviour, and to the Sermon on the Mount as their Code; that he proved before the eyes of men who had ceased to believe it, that Christ was the power of God unto salvation. It was part of the perennial good fortune of Rome that such a force arose within the Church. It was in accordance with her almost infallible sagacity that it was captured, tamed, and applied to her ends. It was part of her unswerving ruthlessness that she killed the life of his ideal, and used the sanctity of his name to hallow what he viewed with horror and shame.

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

**Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Biblischen Wissenschaft,
von Dr Abraham Kuenen, aus dem Holländischen
übersetzt.**

Von K. Budde. Freiburg i. B. : J. C. B. Mohr. 1894. Edinburgh and London : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xiv., 511. Price, M. 12.

THIS collection of Essays by the late Prof. Kuenen owes its origin to a very appreciative notice of the deceased scholar from the pen of Prof. Budde, which appeared in the *Literaturzeitung*, 22nd July 1893. Budde there expressed his regret that owing to the language in which Kuenen's valuable papers were written, and to the fact that they were scattered about in a multitude of different periodicals, they were inaccessible to scholars in general. This brought from the house of J. C. B. Mohr, of Freiburg, an offer to publish a volume of translations from Kuenen's papers. The duty of making the selection was committed to Budde, and the translation has also been done by him. It comes out incidentally that the German translation of Kuenen's Hibbert Lectures, "National Religions and Universal Religions," which appeared in 1883, was from the hand of Budde, though, not being an original scientific work, he refrained from putting his name to it. The selection of Essays here given is fully representative, extending lengthwise over the whole period of Kuenen's literary life, and in breadth across the wide range of subjects with which his very active mind interested itself. The astonishing list of works given in the Appendix to the present volume shows how varied his interests were. No selection could have better exhibited the author's mind on all its sides, or have better

illustrated his method and the positions which his method led him to take up. In several of the papers Kuenen has occasion to maintain and defend his positions against assailants, and, naturally, the necessity brings more clearly to his own mind and compels him to state more distinctly the antithesis between himself and traditional opinions. Thoughtful readers of his former works may not find anything quite new, but in such avowals as that "Supernaturalism is the death of History," and many of a similar kind, they will find the old stated with great vigour and sharpness. In this respect also these Essays form a very welcome addition to Kuenen's works already published; they give the reader in many places in a form succinct and lucid what he would have to gather for himself, not without labour, from a general survey of the author's whole writings. Having enjoyed Kuenen's friendship and come under the spell of his fascinating personality, the translation and editing of these papers has been to Budde a labour of love or almost of piety. And, though the time devoted to it appears incredibly short, it need not be said that it is executed in a way worthy of the author's reputation. To an English reader the book feels like a forcible and lucid German original.

Our object in this brief notice is to draw attention to the volume, and to say, as has been already said, that to those who have not time or opportunity to study the author's larger works, it offers a succinct and clear initiation into his methods of investigation and his fundamental principles. The volume begins, as was proper, with an Essay on Method. The essay, while a formal discussion on method, is itself one of the best examples of it. The clear view of the goal to be reached, which is no other than true History, the conception of what History is and how it is to be distinguished from mere historical facts, the comprehensive survey of the materials, the lucid and orderly disposition of them, and finally the conclusions which they suggest—all this is characteristic of the author, and commands our admiration. In understanding Kuenen is a man. Nevertheless, in reading the essay we feel that something is wanting. It might not be easy to say what. Perhaps it is those things which Budde comprehends under the term "genial," things of which elsewhere Kuenen recognises the need in criticism, but which hardly belonged to his own mind. Perhaps it is too much to ask of a method that it should explain everything, though it is expected of it to make the attempt, and to offer some explanation which is plausible or more probable than others. The explanation of the three Davids given by Kuenen in illustration of his Method, the true David of some parts of Samuel, the David of the superscriptions to the Psalms, and the levitical David of the Chronicles, will to some hardly appear satisfactory. The historical germ postulated, whether

Davidic or Mosaic, always seems too small to account for the dimensions of the later growth. We are lost in admiration of the ingenuity which by a few strokes of logic develops the one out of the other, and, as Mr Saddle-tree expresses himself, "has cleckit this great muckle bird out o' that wee egg." This appears to be the feeling also of those scholars against whom Kuenen directs his more controversial papers; they cannot see that the forces postulated behind are sufficient to explain the strides of advance made at various times. In answer to these pertinacious objectors Kuenen on various occasions refers triumphantly to Wellhausen's *Abriss*, with the air of one who should say, "If they believe not Moses," &c. Wellhausen's brilliant and powerful sketch will always remain a classic of the age of criticism. But, especially in its earlier part, it awakens our curiosity rather than satisfies our mind. The "Jahwe" who does such things, as he is represented by Wellhausen as doing, must have been able, and felt to be able, to do much more. Those who cherished the thoughts of him attributed to the people, could not have so felt regarding him without feeling a multitude of other things similar or even greater. We are not sure whether the steps of advance described in Wellhausen's sketch be due to Jahwe as he represents him, or to Jahwe under much broader conceptions of him. We feel as if the stream which Wellhausen uses to drive a mill might have floated a navy.

Excellent examples of what might be called historical criticism in this volume are the Essays on the Composition of the Sanhedrim, on the Massoretic Text, and on the Men of the Great Synagogue. Examples of literary criticism are the papers on Dinah and Shechem, and on the Manna and Quails; while both kinds of criticism are combined in the Essay on the Queen of Heaven (Jer. iv., xlv.), and in the two papers on Esdras, which are of great value. On the other hand the Essays on the Hexateuch, and the history of worship in Israel, and on the newest phases of the criticism of the Hexateuch are very instructive in regard to the author's general principles and the bearing which these and his results have upon the faith of the Christian Church.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

Die Psalmen.

Übersetzt von E. Kautzsch. Freiburg i. B., J. C. B. Mohr. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. iv. 213. Price, M. 1.

THIS is in the main a reprint of the translation of the Psalter from Kautzsch's larger work, the Translation of the Old Testament. This work is one of great value and usefulness. The rendering is

idiomatic modern German, with a certain amount of critical emendation of the text; while in the letters on the margin indicating the original sources from which the elements of the several passages are taken, the reader has before his eye a brief continuous Introduction to the literature of the Old Testament. Of course the criticism, whether literary or textual, is that of the individual authors who execute the several parts, and not the work of the translators combined in a company. The scholars, however, who have co-operated with Kautzsch are worth listening to even singly. In many cases the generally acknowledged results of literary criticism are accepted, and the textual criticism is as a rule moderate and reasonable. Siegfried's treatment of the Book of Ezekiel might be considered an exception, but the text of that prophet is so exceptionally bad that Siegfried's frequent refusal to attempt a translation is not without justification. The Translation has now been completed, and supplemented by some very useful additions, such as a sketch of the history of Israel, chronological tables of contemporary history, and a map of Palestine according to the newest discoveries. The great value of the book and its very low price (about ten shillings) ought to secure for it a large circulation.

The translation of the Psalter, with critical notes on the text, is by Kautzsch himself, and forms a handy and useful edition of the Psalms. Textual emendations are matters of feeling often rather than of argument and come under the principle *De gustibus*. Those of Kautzsch are at least not extravagant either in number or character.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

The Principles of Morals.

By Thomas Fowler, D.D., and John Matthias Wilson, B.D.
Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1894. 8vo, pp. 386. Price, 14s.

THIS volume is a re-issue of a work already published, in two parts, in 1886 and 1887 respectively. The sheets of Part I. were struck off as long ago as 1875, while the whole work had been planned some years before. The only new portions of the work, besides a small portion of the preface, are six pages of additions and corrections. A very few sentences may therefore suffice to indicate the nature of the work once again brought to public notice.

"The main idea," says Dr Fowler, "which inspired my colleague and myself in attempting this work was that morality is the result of a constant growth, and is still ever growing; that, consequently, the most effective, though, of course, not the only way of approach-

ing it is the historical method." The authors follow the tradition of seeking the explanation of morality by analysing the sentiments and impulses of human nature. After a sketch of the earlier English moralists, and a chapter on method, they proceed to give an account of the self-regarding, sympathetic, resentful, and semi-social feelings, then analyse the feeling of moral approbation and the notion of rectitude, and after discussing the function of the reason and of the imagination in morality, finish with chapters on the will and on religious feeling. Constant use is made of the sociological material available in the works of M'Lennan, Tylor, Maine, Lubbock, and Spencer at the time the volume was written; interest is added to various discussions by frequent references to the social and economic questions of modern life (though the interest in reading Dr Fowler's pages now largely comes from reflecting on the change which has come over these questions); and considerable prominence is given to the juridical aspect of morality. This last characteristic appears to me one of the most valuable features of the book.

On the whole, the authors give an excellent descriptive account of morality, as they conceive its nature and history. Their position agrees very closely with that of J. S. Mill. There is indeed hardly any important position in their doctrines of the nature of obligation, conscience, and morality, of which the germs may not be found in J. S. Mill's essay on *Utilitarianism*. They are concerned, as he was, to maintain that their doctrines can find room for ideal and spiritual views of life and conduct: and although for them, as for him, pleasure is made the ultimate test of good, they adopt his distinction between kinds of pleasure, without seeing that this is implicitly to adopt a new criterion of morality. The "higher" pleasures are said to be "the pleasures attendant on the exercise of intelligence, and those moral and æsthetical pleasures of which intelligence is the indispensable condition," for these are "distinctive of man" or "characteristic of human nature": a distinction which fails to take account of the fact that the exercise of intelligence may be and has frequently been made subservient to desires and activities characteristic of man, but certainly inconsistent with the elevated morality taught in the present volume. Difficulties such as this seem covered up rather than solved by the authors, who are anxious to avoid any tincture of metaphysics, and even to keep themselves free from "speculative psychology." This attitude leads to a certain want of scientific thoroughness, which is, indeed, the characteristic defect of the moderation of tone and opinion which marks the present volume. W. R. SORLEY.

Locke's Essay concerning Human Understanding, collated and annotated with prolegomena, biographical, critical, and historical.

By Alexander Campbell Fraser, Hon. D.C.L. (Oxon.), Emeritus Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. Two Volumes. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894. Price, £1, 12s.

It is needless to compare these handsome volumes with any other edition of Locke's *Essay*, for it may be said of them, as of Professor Fraser's edition of Berkeley, that there can never be another standard edition. It is a pity that we have not, as was long expected, a collection of Locke's works from the same editor and publishers; but we have here the book that is by far his most distinctive and important, and by far the most difficult to edit. As regards the text the main advantages, apart from the printing, are two—the substitution of a more readable and coherent marginal analysis for the familiar headlines of sections, and the marking of the various alterations made by Locke, so as to make this an edition, as it were, of all the editions. "The text has been prepared after collation with the four editions published when Locke was alive, and also with the French version of Coste done under Locke's supervision." The spelling is modernised, and "the superabundant italics and capitals of the early editions" are only so far retained as to "remind readers that the book is not the work of a contemporary."

But the great value of this edition lies in the editor's prolegomena and footnotes, and it was well to give them an index of their own. The prolegomena are in three parts. The aim of the first is to give "a history of Locke's mind—to explain how Lord Shaftesbury's secretary became the author of the *Essay*." The second part seeks to present a coherent view of the *Essay*, and to develop a positive ground of criticism; and the third treats of the development in Berkeley and Hume. The notes are numerous, few pages being without several. They are partly explanatory and historical, partly critical, and not a few are concerned with the present state of knowledge or opinion on matters of psychology and the theory of knowledge. They are particularly valuable in giving the results of their author's long and intimate studies in Locke himself and the numerous company of his critics at home and abroad. The constant references to a more thorough treatment of epistemology will doubtless help to restore the *Essay* as a textbook in philosophy. One of the greatest difficulties in the study of philosophy proper is how to make a beginning. If philosophy is not all the history of philosophy, the study of philosophy is for the

most part through the study of its history. Certain epochs stand out as most useful for the purpose, setting clearly the question of the construction and validity of knowledge, and solving it by the criticism and development of a *prima facie* theory. Such epochs are from Protagoras to Aristotle, from Descartes to Spinoza, from Kant to Hegel. But that from Locke to Hume is best for several reasons,—above all, because it presents in an actual and not an artificial way the history of the various stages by which a student may disintegrate his convictions, and occupy a critical attitude to his own common-sense and reflections. It is on this ground that Locke is never obsolete, and that the *Essay* is always valuable as a text-book. Indeed, as a footnote says, “the strong, unspeculative common-sense which was his congenial element, with the consequent inadequacy and incoherence of his philosophic outcome, has so stimulated thought, through controversy and otherwise, that the history of philosophy, since the *Essay* appeared, may be said to be a history of the criticism to which it has given rise, and of the new points of view to which it has thus conducted.”

But, suitable as the *Essay* is by way of introduction to philosophy on account of its general purpose and the degree of progress it makes, there are few books more repellent to a beginner. With all its apparently simple and ordinary language, its iterations and prolixity, the entire absence in it of learning and presupposed knowledge, there is hardly any book from which different readers come away with such different notions of its general purpose and the import even of its parts. Of the four books of the *Essay* the last is first in importance, and the first certainly last; while the second, which must be associated with the fourth to be fairly appreciated, is separated from it by a third, which tends to increase the confusion when it is not an independent treatise. “Locke’s endeavour to accommodate his *Essay* to all sorts of readers has made it perhaps the most difficult of modern philosophical classics to reduce to luminous and consecutive thought. The desire to avoid scholastic terms, combined with vacillation and want of precise connotation in the use of some of the most important words, has made the *Essay* the puzzle of commentators and critics.”

Perhaps there is little interest left in the debates as to whether Locke’s “ideal system” is sensationalism, empiricism, intellectualism, and one or another cast of dualism. It is not difficult for any ordinary theory to find authority in the *Essay*, and the only option for the commentator and critic is to distinguish what is integral to Locke’s view, and what inconsistent with it. On the one hand, Green thinks he is kept from the scepticism of Hume by inconsistencies; on the other, Professor Fraser treats as inconsistencies what opened the way for Hume. “Locke,” says Green,

"stumbles upon truths when he is not looking for them, and the inconsistencies or accidents of the *Essay* are its most valuable parts"; he is "the father of the popular empiricism of the modern world, but by accident also the father of its refutation." This accident he finds more especially in the fourth book, and most explicitly in the treatment of mathematical demonstration as valid for "real," and not merely for "nominal essences." There are many similar "accidents" throughout the *Essay*, but Green holds they *are* accidents,—inconsistent, and due to "ambiguity," "disguise," and "subterfuge," because Locke must abide by his account of the origin of knowledge in simple ideas, whereby knowledge can never be knowledge of reality. Professor Fraser, while taking the same view of such an origin of knowledge, holds that the fourth book is the central one; objects that Locke is unjustly treated by Green, "who, notwithstanding the anachronism, has subjected the *Essay* to the canons of Neo-Hegelian dialectic"; and argues, in particular, that Locke did not make simple ideas the beginning of knowledge. "Locke makes mental proposition the irreducible *atom* of knowledge. Ideas, simple or complex, particular or universal, are *incognisable*, by the definition of knowledge given in the *Essay*, except so far as they are in a *perceived relation* to something that is predicated by them,—predicated, too, with an intuitive assurance of the certainty of the relation. Knowledge thus begins in mental proposition: and all propositions that represent it, whether particular or universal, are (ultimately) intuitively known. Locke nowhere says that knowledge can be really reached merely by compounding simple ideas independently of those other elements. Ideas remain mere ideas, until they are perceived under relation, with an absolute assurance of the certainty of the relation" (Vol. I. p. lxiii.) That is the case for Locke, not only against Green, but, it must be said, against his own influence on the course of philosophy. Professor Fraser's interpretation is unquestionably the juster, both because it makes the best of Locke, and because it is founded upon what was comparatively clear to him, and not upon ambiguities and aspects of problems of which he was unconscious. "The reader labouring after the meaning must not 'stick in the incidents,' as Locke complained to Collins that his critics often did, but must strive to take a comprehensive view of the work in its main design, which, he says, 'lies in a little compass.'" But what Locke took for incidental was fundamental enough to give rise to Scottish and German philosophy. How "there is a *conformity* between our ideas and the reality of things" if "it is evident the mind knows not things immediately, but only by the intervention of the ideas it has of them," is merely a question "that seems not to want difficulty." His answer is that simple ideas must have archetypes, seeing we

cannot make them of ourselves, and that "all complex ideas except those of substances are archetypes of the mind's own making, not intended to be copies of anything," and therefore presenting no difficulty. The burden of "the ideal system" would thus appear to rest upon simple ideas; they are "the whole material of all our knowledge," and if they were merely impressions, the relations which make them knowledge only somehow "arising in time," Locke might be regarded as an uncritical Hume. But if he understood simple ideas to be matter for knowledge only as potential judgments in a "passive understanding," he may be interpreted as an uncritical Kant; and his assigning to sense in Book II. what in Book IV. he treats as knowledge may be taken as an exaggerated example of what we have also in Kant. Locke has no word for the activity of understanding in perception, but he certainly means by "sensation," when he defines it as a form of consciousness or "understanding," all that is now meant by perception. The "sensations or perceptions in our understandings" are already pieces of knowledge, involving not merely relations of "existence," substance, and cause, but apparently even correct and mistaken judgments of "resemblance" to the "qualities" of objects which have "power to produce" the sensations. So far was Locke from realising or treating the question that has become fundamental, both in psychology and in the theory of knowledge. (Professor Fraser notes on the awkward doctrine in *e.g.*, Book II. ch. viii.: "Locke probably means, in his vague way, that the primary qualities are virtually the ideas we have of them"; and "the alleged 'resemblance' is Locke's way of asserting the objective existence of the presented appearance or idea" (Vol. I. p. 173). But he did not ponder long over "virtually.")

The result of not distinguishing the rational and empirical elements in "sensation" was Locke's denial of a science of nature, while he admits the reality of "sensitive knowledge." His ground is that, as our knowledge of nature can be acquired only "by experience and history," it can never find "necessary connection." "Natural philosophy," therefore, deals only with probabilities, and "this," the editor remarks, "is the favourite conclusion of the *Essay*." One can appreciate Professor Fraser's sympathy with it; but a more critical attitude would have been of advantage to a student. Locke writes as if he were hardly conscious of any distinction between logical and empirical probability; indeed, it is the latter he has always, or nearly always, in view. The greater part of his discussions in this connection are entirely beside his proper question of the validity of knowledge, if they are not rendered entirely useless by a *petitio principii* concerning the objects of "real knowledge." All he says as to the "real" character of mathe-

matical truths is equally to be said of "natural philosophy." For it is with the same sort of "faith" that we must apply both to particulars, and after all be wrong. This sort of faith has no importance for any theory of knowledge that allows the possibility of ignorance and mistake. The only faith with which a science of nature is concerned, so far as it is a science, has reference to the uniformity of nature. And as Locke's "sensitive knowledge," if it is knowledge and not feeling, involves this and more, there arises the dilemma of either denying it to be knowledge of reality, or of admitting "natural philosophy" to the same right.

Such is the problem by which Locke "inaugurated the modern epistemological era," but the *Essay*, full of all sorts of questions, criticised at so many points and in such a wealth of literature, becomes a mine of interest in the hands of an editor like Professor Fraser. His general treatment is already familiar in the article "Locke" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* and in his volume in *Blackwood's Philosophical Classics*, and only those who have tried the *Essay* without such an introduction can appreciate the value of his service. This service is carried into detail in the volumes before us, and there can be no question that the *Essay* is now the best edited of any whole philosophical book of modern times. Reference might have been made to Professor Fraser's own attitude in philosophy, which appears throughout his commentary, but this he is expected to give shortly in a more systematic manner. One of the notes (Vol. II. p. 351) contains a sufficiently pregnant summary: "In the deepest and truest philosophy, the *ego*, the world, and God, are combined in an endless development, under a supreme Divine Purpose, faith in which sustains the sciences of nature, but in constant subordination to faith in a moral and spiritual ideal."

W. MITCHELL.

The Book of Chronicles.

By W. H. Bennett, M.A. "The Expositor's Bible" Series. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1894. Cr. 8vo., pp. xii. 464. Price, 7s. 6d.

It is certainly no easy task that Professor Bennett has undertaken in this volume of the Expositor's Bible. In the first place, as he himself is fully aware, "to expound Chronicles in a series which has dealt with Samuel, Kings, Ezra, and Nehemiah, is to glean scattered ears from a field already harvested"; and in the second place, even had Professor Bennett been first in the field, there are surely few parts of the Old Testament that offer such unpromising material for the expositor's art as the endless genealogies and the details

of temple ritual which the chronicler records with such manifest delight. Difficult, however, as this task has been, I have no hesitation in saying that it has been successfully accomplished, or in expressing my belief that the volume under review will take rank as one of the most original and suggestive in the long series of which it forms part. The author may be, as he modestly claims, but a tardy gleaner, yet one feels, on laying down his book, that in this case "the gleanings of the grapes of Ephraim is better than the vintage of Abiezer."

Professor Bennett has arranged his material in four books. The first is devoted to "Introduction," and need not detain us. It comprises a discussion of the usual topics of the date, authorship, sources, &c., of the books, or rather of the book, of Chronicles. The conclusions arrived at are mostly those now generally accepted. Thus we read that "a date somewhere between B.C. 300 and B.C. 250," seems best to account for all the facts. Further, it is "extremely probable" that the author or compiler "was a Levite and a Temple-singer or musician." I doubt, however, if Professor Bennett is right in his view regarding "the Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah," or "of Judah and Israel," so often referred to by the chronicler. This work (for it is now agreed, I think, that but *one* work is referred to under slight variations of title), it is here maintained, "is neither a source nor an authority of Chronicles. There is nothing to prove that the chronicler himself was actually acquainted with the book" (p. 18). It is not easy on this view to see what motive the compiler of Chronicles could have had for thus referring his readers to a work which he himself, presumably, had never seen. The closing sentences of this chapter, on the other hand, emphasise a fact which, though well-known to professed scholars, deserves the attention of those especially who are beginning a closer study of the literary problems of the Old Testament. "A careful comparison," says Professor Bennett, "of Chronicles with Samuel and Kings, is a striking object lesson in ancient historical composition. It is an almost indispensable introduction to the criticism of the Pentateuch and the older historical books. The 'redactor' of these works becomes no mere shadowy and hypothetical personage when we have watched his successor the chronicler piecing together things new and old, and adapting ancient narratives to modern ideas by adding a word in one place and changing a phrase in another" (pp. 20-21).

Book II. is headed "Genealogies, 1 Chron. i.-ix., &c." We all know what these long chapters contain. Personally I had not thought it possible to invest them with so much living interest as Professor Bennett here more than succeeds in doing. "Names," "Hereditage," "Statistics," are the titles of some of his chapters,

chapters which, rich as they are in "wise saws and modern instances," bear eloquent testimony to the author's wide reading, mature reflection, and general resourcefulness. The chapter on "Teaching by Anachronism" is the most effective "Apologia" known to me for the Chronicler's thorough *bona fides* in his somewhat peculiar treatment of the older history of his nation, as we have it in the books of Samuel and Kings.

What this treatment is, we are told in the opening chapter of Book II., "Teaching by Types." The chronicler's method is the "selective method,"—that is, he has selected from the older historical works then current only such portions as suited the purpose he had in view. Not all the great names on the Hebrew roll of fame lent themselves to the chronicler's mode of treatment; nor of those that found favour in his eyes were all the incidents recorded such as to his mind made for edification. The realism of the older histories contained not a little that was calculated to offend the religious sensibilities of the chronicler's age; consequently these histories were submitted in all good faith to a process akin to that now known as bowdlerising. As the result of this process, "instead of historical portraits," to use Mr Bennett's words, "we are presented with a gallery of ideals, types of character which we are asked either to admire or to condemn." Of such ideals, David and Solomon are the most conspicuous types on the one side, and accordingly receive the fullest expository treatment in the work before us. As a convenient representative of the opposite type, Mr Bennett selects King Ahaz, the story of whose life, as retold by the chronicler, he skilfully uses as a warning and example to the youth of to-day. Anticipating the objection that the lot and life of royalty are too far removed from those of common folk to be profitably used in this way, Professor Bennett very truly remarks: "Men should all be educated to reign, to respect themselves, and appreciate their opportunities. . . . We need to apply the principle more consistently, and to recognise the royal dignity of the average life, and of those whom the superior person is pleased to call commonplace people" (p. 216).

It would have contributed somewhat to the symmetry of Professor Bennett's exposition if he had prefixed to Book IV. "The Interpretation of History" (pp. 313-464), a chapter setting forth and criticising the chronicler's philosophy of history, which would have formed the complement and counterpart of the chapter on "Teaching by Types," which, as we have seen, forms so appropriate an introduction to Book III. This philosophy is a simple one: Retribution follows hard on evil-doing, and royal misfortunes are a sure proof of royal sins. The converse is not less true, that unexampled good fortune can only be the reward of unexampled piety. Perhaps

the most conspicuous illustration of the former sentence is in the matter of the breaking of Jehoshaphat's ships at Eziongeber (2 Chron. xx. 35-37; cf. 1 Kings xxii. 48, 49). The idealising of the character and life of David, to which reference has already been made, is the most conspicuous illustration of the latter.

There is very much to commend, did space allow, in the skill with which Professor Bennett extracts from these incidents of other days valuable lessons for the men and women of our own time. Thus, to give but a single instance, the speech of King Abijah to the army of Jeroboam (2 Chron. xiii. 4-12) is made to teach "two main lessons: the importance of an official and duly accredited ministry, and of a suitable and authoritative ritual." There is also, by the way, a clever rendering of the speech (p. 332-3) into the language of a pious [Roman] "Catholic general in the Thirty Years' War addressing a hostile Protestant army." The present writer has also been struck by many fine thoughts in the chapter headed "Hezekiah: the Religious Value of Music" (pp. 427-443).

One minor correction to close with. On p. 252 Professor Bennett says: "We read elsewhere [in the Old Testament] of 'schools of the prophets' and 'sons of the prophets.'" Will Mr Bennett kindly append the reference to the first-named institution?

ARCH. R. S. KENNEDY.

The Akhmîm Fragment of the Apocryphal Gospel of St Peter.

Edited, with an Introduction, Notes, and Indices, by H. B. Swete, D.D., Hon. Litt. D., Dublin, Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. xlviii. 34. Price 5s. nett.

A Popular Account of the newly-recovered Gospel of St Peter.

By J. Rendel Harris, Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge. Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo. Pp. viii. 97. Price 2s. 6d.

THE volumes of Dr Swete and Professor Rendel Harris on the newly-discovered Akhmîm Fragment afford a gratifying illustration of the alertness with which the theological scholarship of Cambridge follows the topics of the day. Dr Swete's careful and scholarly treatise will be indispensable to the student. His introduction, notes, and indices are all work of the kind that will prove permanently useful. They will be gratefully used by the scholar,

when the trouble taken in the preparation of them has perhaps been forgotten. Mr Rendel Harris's "popular account" of the interesting discovery is in its way equally good. It is clearly and attractively written, and ought to do much to familiarise a wider circle of readers with the nature of some of the problems with which the Christian apologist has to deal at the present day.

The discovery of the Akhmîn Fragment would have been at any time an important contribution to our knowledge of the history of Christianity. Just at present it possesses an especial interest on account of its possible bearing on the question of the origin of the Canonical Gospels.

What is the relation of the fourth Gospel to the synoptics? In its general outline it bears a strong resemblance to them. In language it frequently coincides with them, or resembles them. But it differs from them on so many points of greater or less importance that it is impossible to be content with the common theory that St John wrote with the synoptic Gospels before him, and that his design was, accepting their narrative to supplement it. We cannot even be satisfied with the view that St John wrote to correct the synoptics, because while some of the points of difference are important, others are so trivial that the variation cannot have been intentional. The fact is that the writer of the fourth Gospel goes on his own way without regard to the synoptic narrative. This seems to point to the conclusion that the fourth evangelist followed a tradition of his own which had long diverged from the synoptic tradition, while preserving the same general form and much of the language, even where the language came, as often happens, to be differently applied.

When we compare the synoptic Gospels one with another, they present similar phenomena to those which appear on a comparison of the synoptic and Johannine traditions. There are many and marked resemblances, but there are also irreconcilable differences. All attempts to explain their mutual relations by supposing that one copied from the other have failed. The synoptic Gospels appear to be independent traditional products, starting, it may be, from a common source, and embodying much common matter, but each with modifications and additions of its own. The synoptics seem to be related to one another as the fourth Gospel is to the synoptics, though with this difference, that the tradition of the fourth Gospel has branched more widely apart from the synoptics than the synoptics have from one another.

While we are contemplating these facts, and asking ourselves if there was room enough in the early Church for our four Gospels to have grown up independently of each other in the way that this theory supposes, the fragment of the Gospel of Peter appears on the

scene. Does it throw any light on our enquiry? We find it to represent a fifth Gospel, apparently standing in the same kind of relation to the other four as John does to the synoptics, or the synoptics to one another. The Gospel of St Peter is a Life of Jesus Christ corresponding, as far as we can judge the whole from a part, in general outline and idea with the older Gospels, and resembling them occasionally in language just as John resembles the synoptics, and as the synoptics resemble one another, but at the same time diverging from them so widely and in so many points that it is very hard indeed to believe that it is founded on them.

What is the correct view as to the relation of the Akhmîm fragment to the canonical Gospels? The question is of importance, for if the Gospel of Peter was based upon a tradition related to those of the canonical Gospels, but independent of them, that would be a strong confirmation of the theory that the fourth Gospel was based on a tradition similarly related to those of the synoptics, and that the synoptics are so related one to another. But if, on the other hand, it can be proved, or shown with any high degree of probability, that the Petrine Gospel, in spite of its variations from the canonical Gospels, is really founded on them, that would be a strong argument in favour of the belief that the fourth evangelist used the synoptic Gospels, and that we are right in seeking for the solution of the synoptic problem by trying to discover which of the three could have copied from the other.

Both Dr Swete and Professor Rendel Harris favour the opinion that the writer of the Petrine Gospel used the other four. But in Dr Swete's admirable introduction there is what many must regard as an unanswerable objection to this hypothesis. He gives a list of eighteen of "the most important" incidents which occur in this short fragment, but are "not to be found in any canonical gospel." It is quite true, as Dr Swete says, that these "new incidents" "rest upon the basis of a story which is in the main identical with that of the canonical Gospels." But this is a very different thing from claiming that "there is nothing in this portion of the Petrine Gospel which compels us to assume the use of historical sources other than the canonical Gospels." If these new incidents did not come from other traditional sources, where did they come from? Why should the writer have invented them, with all their self-consistent complications? Besides these "important" additions to the tradition of the canonical Gospels there are many striking omissions, and many smaller indications of independence.

Professor Rendel Harris does not do much to strengthen the case when he says, in "showing that he (Peter) uses the narrative of the Fourth Gospel," "it may be conjectured that the reason why the writer made up the story that one thief did not have his legs

broken is due to the language of St John ("they brake the legs of the first"). The rest of the sentence in the Fourth Gospel is—"and of the other which was crucified with him." The writer of the Peter Fragment must have been a very heedless reader if he founded on the Fourth Gospel the statement that only one of the thieves had his legs broken.

Professor Harris makes a similar comment on the concluding words of the Fragment, which says that Simon Peter and Andrew took their nets and departed to the sea, accompanied by Levi the son of Alphæus. "The writer," he says, "is evidently thinking of the account in the last chapter of John where Simon Peter says, 'I go a fishing;' and the other disciples say, 'We also go with thee.' But either because he did not recall the previous verse in John, which says that there were with Peter both Thomas and Nathanael, James and John, and two other disciples, or else because he was making a hasty guess at the two nameless disciples, he has introduced Andrew and Levi the son of Alphæus."

In face of the very great difficulties in the way of supposing that the narrative of the Akhmîm Fragment is founded on the canonical Gospels, it must be admitted that the proof of its dependence on them has not yet been established.

With regard to the question whether four Gospels could have grown up independently in the early Church, the following extracts from Dr Swete's preface, relating to the early history of the Gospel of Peter, are worth considering.

"In the course of a visit to Rhosus, the Bishop of Antioch"—Serapion, whose "episcopate began between A.D. 189 and 192,"—"learned that some bitterness had arisen between some members of the church upon the question of the public use of the Gospel of Peter. He glanced over its pages, and not suspecting the existence of any heretical tendency at Rhosus, authorised the reading of the book. After his departure information reached him which threw a new light upon the matter, and determined him to visit Rhosus again without delay. He had learned that the Gospel had originated among a party known to Catholic Christians as the *Docetæ*, and was still in use among that party, who appear to have been led at Rhosus by one Marcianus; and on procuring a copy of the Gospel from other members of the party and examining it in detail, he had found that the book, although generally sound, contained certain accretions of another character, specimens of which he proceeded to give." (Pp. x., xi.)

Where was Rhosus, and what kind of a man was Serapion?

"Rhosus stood just inside the Bay of Issus (the modern Gulf of Iskenderun); to the south-west, fifty miles off, lay the extremity of the long arm of Cyprus; Antioch was not above thirty miles to the

south-east, but lofty hills, a continuation of the range of Amanus, prevented direct communication with the capital. It was in this obscure dependency of the great Syrian See that the Petrine Gospel first attracted notice. To Serapion it was clearly unknown till he saw it at Rhodus. Yet Serapion was not only bishop of the most important See in the east, but a man of considerable activity in letters, and a controversialist."

Putting together these facts with the opening verses of the third Gospel they appear to show us that in the first ages of the church there was not that degree of interest taken in the exact form of the Gospel tradition prevailing in other parts of the church, that our modern notions might have led us to expect. If it had not been for the dispute at Rhodus about the use of the Gospel of Peter, it appears that Serapion would not have heard of the existence of such a Gospel, even though it was in use within thirty miles of his own home. And when his attention was called to it he authorised the use of it without reading it through. All this seems to show that in the wide extent of the Christian church it is not impossible that the four Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John might have arrived at their present form with less dependence on one another than is implied in the ordinary theories as to their origin.

J. A. CROSS.

Christianity under the Empire.

Der römische Staat und die allgemeine Kirche.

Von K. J. Neumann. *Erster Band.* Leipzig: Veit & Comp. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xii. 334. Price, M. 7.

Christianity and the Roman Government.

By E. G. Hardy, M.A., formerly Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford. London: Longmans, 1894. 8vo, pp. xv. 208. Price, 5s.

For no historical problem of prime interest can more solid progress during the last five years be reported than for that here under review. And it is a fact full at once of instruction and of promise for the future, that, though the topic belongs to ecclesiastical even more than to political history, the recent advance has been made by students approaching it from the latter side. Things, indeed, were perhaps most in arrears on this side, as we may now perceive from Lightfoot's comparative failure to unravel matters, spite of his great services in certain respects. But the balance has now been fully

redressed, and a fresh impulse to renewed scrutiny of the specifically Christian facts should be a speedy result. The master mind behind this movement has been that of Mommsen, the Nestor of Roman historians, who, by an article in the *Historische Zeitschrift* for 1890, entitled, "Religious Trespass (*Frevel*) according to Roman Law," laid down the lines along which both Ramsay and Hardy, among ourselves, have eagerly run, each in his own way.

We had intended to review Neumann's work in its completed form; but the second volume, advertised for 1891, is so long overdue that its partner is already being put out of date in some respects by more recent research. Yet not so in its entirety; for, as its title denotes, its stress begins where Ramsay and Hardy end—viz., at the point where the Church begins to impress the State as a catholic organisation. It deals, too, far more with topics internal to the Church's life than either of the authors just named. The *terminus ad quem* in the author's mind is the age of Diocletian; and the first part carries us down to the eve of Decius' reign, which inaugurated the new policy of systematic repression. After a terse and lucid Introduction of some fifty pages, reviewing the development of the Church and of something like a policy on the part of the State, down to the age of M. Aurelius (when the "Great Church" may be said to emerge), Neumann takes up his special task in earnest and with a thorough grip upon the sources, which shows itself everywhere in the copious and elegantly-printed foot-notes. Chapter I. is devoted to the "Beginnings of Synodal Organisation and the rule of Commodus"; Chapter II., to the "First Years of Septimius Severus and the attitude of Christianity to the World at the close of the Second Century"; and Chapter III., to the "Rescript and Persecution of Sept. Severus and Severus Antoninus," and then to the "Syrian Cæsars." Next follow two Chapters on "Maximinus Thrax and the Christian Clergy," and "The Peace of the Church under Philippus Arabs and the Millennial Jubilee of Roman Rule," which conclude the history proper. But not the least valuable part of the work are the three Critical Appendices (pp. 255-331) or *pièces justificatives*, on "Hippolytus," "The date and occasion of Origen's *Contra Celsum*," and the "*Acta Sanctorum*" attributed to the period.

This last is a wonderful bit of careful and discriminating condensation, for which students of Martyrologies cannot be too grateful. As to the nature of Hippolytus' peculiar position, Neumann sees in him a real anti-pope to Callistus and probably also to his two successors; supposing that his final reconciliation to the larger party in the church enabled the official tradition of the Roman Church to recognise him under the title of Presbyter (so the Liberian Catalogue). He thus dismisses the view that Hippolytus was

actually bishop of Portus, which, however, has since been revived by Bishop Lightfoot (*Clement*, Vol. II. 427 ff.). And the case is by no means closed. The idea of his second discussion is rather more novel—viz., that Origen was, in fact, stirred to his *Contra Celsum* by the occurrence, in 248 A.D., of the celebration of Rome's Millennium of continuous growth; and that this was uppermost in Ambrosius' mind in asking him to undertake the task, as a sort of counterblast to the moral effect of such an impressive event. Neumann cites as a parallel the *Monumenta Reformationis Lutheranae* issued by the Curia at the time of the Luther celebration in 1883. This is attractive, though it may well be asked whether the internal marks in the *Contra Celsum* of such a *motif* are quite as clear as we might expect.¹

The starting-point in Neumann's mind, as his preface informs us, was the Decian persecution; and this fact explains the scope of his work, which becomes fuller and fuller as it nears that crisis. But as the later stages could only be read by aid of the earlier history of the relations of Church and State, he extended his studies back to the very beginning. In so doing he worked in the light of the fact that "the Church's power which Decius and Diocletian vainly sought to break, had grown step by step with the progress of Church organisation"; so that "only in connection with the development of Church polity could the State's attitude to the Church be estimated." These are excellent principles, if we do not allow them to dominate our views at too early a point in the history of Christianity—a danger which Mr Hardy has well brought to light. And most excellently has Neumann wrought out the reciprocal relations of the factors at work on both sides, selecting from a very wide field all facts—both civil and religious, old and new—that are really pertinent to the inquiry. Nor has he neglected to take account of the tone and temper of Christian life, especially in its social aspects, at each epoch. Very thorough, too, is the way in which he lays Clement and Tertullian under contribution for the *ethos* of the Christians in Alexandria and Carthage during the age of Severus and his immediate successors. He seems, however, rather unduly to limit the type of *collegia*, under which the Christians of Tertullian's day sought so far to legitimise their corporate life, to that known as a *coll. funeraticium* or "burial club"—although it is doubtful whether there is epigraphic warrant for the particular phrase. The more comprehensive term *coll. tenuiorum* (= the "masses," in contrast to the "classes"—*honestiores*) would seem better to represent the thing that Tertullian has in view in *Apol.* 39. But, in any case, we must beware of imagining that this could

¹ Neumann refers the *σνδασις* of iii. 15 to the usurpers of the year 248.

legalise the existence of Christians *as such*. Of them *Non licet esse vos* still holds as before.

A good instance of our author's careful work is his discussion of the rescript (rather than edict) by which, after having shown a mild attitude to the Christians in Rome (Tert. *ad Scap.* iv.)—presumably because not regarding them there as a real political danger—Severus explicitly forbade their growth in the East. He was then probably at Antioch in Syria, where he had, along with his son Antoninus, just assumed the consulship on Jan. 1, 202. Thus the measure, like the similar one forbidding Jewish proselytism, was possibly the outcome of his recent experience of the firm hold which Christianity had in his eastern empire. The warnings, indeed, against proselytism were common to both religions; but the status of existing Christians remained just as it was before—*i.e.*, while Jews had a legal existence, they had none.¹ Hence, while we begin for the first time to find catechumens a special object of attack, we find also martyrs like Origen's father Leonidas, who was hardly a recent convert. Finally, Neumann points to the profound impression on Christian sentiment caused by this advance towards something like formal, even if localised, repression. This is seen in the work of a certain Judas, who supposes that the year 202 marks the end of Daniel's seventy weeks, and the speedy advent of Antichrist (Eus. H. E. vi. 7). To this Harnack, in a review in the *Theolog. Literaturzeitung* for 1890, No. 4, adds some very vivid testimony from Hippolytus (*De Antichristo*, 33, 49; *Comm. in Dan.*, Lagarde, p. 149; *Canones Hippolyti*, 6, 10-17, &c.). And certainly, in his "Comm. on Daniel" the action of the mob in entering the church and haling off Christians to the tribunals is most instructively depicted.

A difficult problem is the explanation of the little that came² of the persecuting mandates issued by Maximin the Thracian, with whom the struggle between the rival *organisations*, Empire and Church, first emerges into clear light. For it was at the ἀρχοντες τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν—probably the clergy as a class—that the blow was directly aimed. Here Neumann and Harnack are for the moment at issue. Harnack had suggested some time back that Maximin did not feel secure enough from rivals to venture on a systematic persecution after all. Neumann replies that from 235 to the spring of 238, Maximin was firm enough on his throne: that, therefore, we must seek other reasons: and that Eusebius supplies the needed hint, in alleging the true motive of the mandates to be "rancour (κότον) against Alexander's household, consisting as it did in the

¹ So, too, under Alexander Severus, we must read into the words *Christianos esse passus est*, no more than mere practical toleration.

² We know only of martyrdoms at Rome and Cæsarea Palæstina.

main of believers" (ἐκ πλειόνων πιστῶν, Eus. H. E. vi. 28). He then proceeds to argue that the emperor only issued his orders to his legates provisionally, with a sort of proviso to put them in force only where the Christians showed any disposition to rise against his rule out of sympathy for their late protector Alexander. Hence, on this showing, "systematic and premeditated persecution, aimed at the extirpation of the Church as a whole, does not begin with Maximin" in any sense; although, to be sure, his method of anticipating the Church's attack shows that the secret of its now formidable character was discerned to lie in its compact organisation, hinging on the clergy. Harnack is not convinced, and will not go beyond the statement that somehow or other Maximin lacked the means to execute his purpose of a thoroughgoing attack on the Church at its most vital point. But the real vulnerability of Neumann's position is surely not so much the fact that his view treats the definite injunction, as given in Eusebius, far too lightly; but rather that it does no justice to the idea of "rancour" against the Christians as Alexander's *protégés*. Instead of this, it summarily twists the word round to mean "suspicion," which is quite another thing. Be this as it may, Neumann makes excellent use of Origen's "Exhortation to Martyrdom" in illustration of the persecution at Cæsarea, and his feelings thereupon; while his connecting of the *Contra Celsum* with the memorable year 248 has already been noticed. But it is worth while adding that, convinced by Massebieau of the priority of Tertullian, he goes so far as to assign the *Octavius* of Minucius to the same period.

We had wished to examine some of the positions summarily advanced in Neumann's Introductory Chapter on the period prior to the more organised unity which the Church begins to attain about the time of Commodus. But as some of these re-emerge in Mr Hardy's work, it will be best to refer to them in that connection, where, in fact, they receive ampler and more correct statement.

The scope of Mr Hardy's book is well indicated by the sub-title, "A Study in Imperial Administration." He sees clearly what Mommsen has insisted on—namely, that the treatment meted out to the Christians must not be handled *in abstracto*, but in the light of Rome's general policy towards both religions and the various forms of voluntary association rife under the Empire. Thus a strong point in his work, as in Neumann's, is the affluence of well-chosen footnotes illustrative of the spirit of Roman law and usage. Again, our author has perceived the principle of administrative Opportunism, so well understood by practical statesmen, and not least so by Roman statesmen, who had such varying local conditions to cope with. The pure jurist cannot interpret the known facts of

our case: logic must, and often did, bend to general expediency. Thus, Mr Hardy is able to clear up the situation by the very principle which saves us from seeking artificially to simplify the policy of the State. Of course he has the advantage of coming after men like Mommsen, Neumann, and Ramsay. But his open-mindedness, judicious independence, and the candour which can learn from his own past mistakes, as well as from those of others, enable him not only to sum up the actual state of research in the most convenient and balanced form at present accessible, but also to contribute a distinct element of his own. Our only complaint is the high price of so small a volume, which may hinder its proper circulation.

In grappling with the problem, "How is the treatment to which the Christians were subjected during the first two centuries consistent with the toleration with which the Roman government in religious matters has generally been credited?" Hardy starts with a chapter on the attitude of Rome towards foreign cults. He first defines the genius of Roman religion. "It was essentially and before all things a national religion: its object was primarily not the honour of the gods but the safety of the State, of which the goodwill of the gods was supposed to be the necessary condition." Here we have the real key to all that follows. *Salus reipublicæ summa lex*. As this ideal stood related in a ruler's mind to the existence of Christians in a given locality—not merely logically and potentially, but also practically—so was his action towards them. Hence, after the growth of comprehensiveness in the spirit of Roman religion under the Republic has been carefully traced, the conclusion emerges that under the Empire, "government interference became limited to two kinds of cases:—(1) To those in which a strange religion was dangerous to public morality or social order or political security; (2) to those in which the foreign religions did not reciprocate the State toleration." Egyptian cults for instance (*cf.* that of Isis), fulfilled the latter of these sufficiently, though not at all times the former. But there were at least two faiths which never pretended to such complaisance, the Jewish and the Christian. These, therefore, must be studied together for comparison and contrast. And, accordingly, a chapter entitled "The Treatment of Judaism" is devoted to the analogies thence discoverable. At this point Hardy is both fuller and clearer than Neumann, who excels, however, when we come to the "Cult of Cæsar," its origin in the eastern provinces, and gradual spread to Rome.¹

With chapter iii. the main theme is directly broached, and the real motives of the relations of the Empire to the Christians are

¹ It is only right to add that Hardy has elsewhere treated this subject fully (*English Hist. Review*, April 1890, Article "Provincial Concilia").

laid bare. The gist of the matter is as follows : Once the Christians began to be distinguished from Jewish Monotheists who, while generally disliked, were at the same time shielded by certain privileges now of long standing, they became liable to persecution. Not, indeed, as it has often been put, because any religion not "holding a licence from the State for worship or for sacrifice" was *ipso facto* liable—an idea which traverses known facts. But because Christian principles in their social application transgressed the two conditions of the "watchful toleration" extended to cults not formally incorporated in the worship of the Roman pantheon. Christianity was non-national in a sense far more rigorous than the specially tolerated Judaism ; it was thus aggressive, and led Roman citizens "to neglect or to violate the national worship" ; and, moreover, its "public morality" seemed more than doubtful. In this regard, in their "aloofness" from the full citizen life and interests, the Christians would affront the feelings of their neighbours long before they attracted the notice of the authorities. The earliest case known to us is that of Pomponia Græcina, a noble Roman lady, whose "superstitio externa" marked by *continua tristitia* and *cultus lugubris* attracted the serious notice of her husband, Aulus Plautius, about 57 A.D. Still, all that we know of St Paul's experiences at Rome points to the fact that the government had not as yet formed any definite estimate of the scope and merits of Christianity.¹ Such an estimate was first occasioned by the trial of Christians on the charge of incendiarism in 64 A.D., in the course of which the nature of their tenets and practice became officially known, was summarily stigmatised *odium generis humani* or "hostility to the social order," and became the actual ground of their penal sentence.

It is at this stage that Hardy begins to diverge from Ramsay, in that he here recognises as already present in germ that proscription of the Name which Ramsay would sharply distinguish from the *flagitia*, and relegate to some time (*e.g.*, 80 A.D.) in the Flavian era. On this showing certain *flagitia* were the ostensible grounds of condemnation in 64 A.D. And, accordingly, "hostility to society" would rank among these special charges. But this, Hardy urges, is not Tacitus' view of the case. He makes such *odium* the summary count, implying all else. *And such persecution is tantamount to that for the Name* : the latter is only the technical phrase in which the same idea took convenient form (*cf.* Tert. App. 2). This view is in keeping with those of Mommsen and Dr Sanday, and will probably prevail. With its adoption falls to the ground

¹ Prof. Ramsay, in his review of Hardy (*Bookman*, June 1894), points out that Tacitus' account of the events of 64 A.D. implies this ; and that this forces us to assume the release, and not the condemnation, of St Paul about 63 A.D.

one of Ramsay's most dubious hypotheses—viz., the late date of 1 Peter (c. 80 rather than 64 A.D.). His principle once granted, Hardy again joins heartily with Ramsay in emphasising and applying Mommsen's great thesis, that henceforth the State must have regarded the Christians in the light of men generally "disaffected towards the social and political arrangements of the Empire," and much on a par with "temple-riflers (*sacrilegos*), brigands, assassins, thieves," and all others whose existence was a standing menace to peace and good order in each locality; and must have treated them accordingly. This means that repression would normally not depend on any specific edicts, but would be left to the common powers of *coercitio* which belonged to the higher magistrates in virtue of their supreme duty of safeguarding the peace and safety of their district or province. In a word, persecution was a "matter of police administration, not of judicial procedure against a legally constituted offence." And in the nature of the case this would vary with "the character of provincial governors, local and particular circumstances"—which would often determine the *expediency* of violating the maxim *quieta non movere*—"and, above all, on the state of popular feeling in particular districts or provinces." Here we seem to have what has long been desiderated by many—namely, a theory in terms of the known criminal law of the Empire.

As the attitude to Christianity taken up in Rome under the Emperor's eye in 64 A.D. stiffened into a permanent police regulation, which no doubt set the fashion for the provinces likewise; so the degree in which the repression of Christianity was actually enforced would vary somewhat with the mood of the reigning Cæsar. This helps, along with local causes of excitement, to explain the spasmodic aspect noticeable in the records of persecution. Those who wish to see it worked out in detail for the Flavii and Domitian in particular (since whose day the Cæsar cult was used as the most typical *test* for Christians), as well as for the emperors of the second century, will do well to consult these pages. As to the significance of Trajan's Rescript, Hardy agrees in general with Ramsay as against his own former views, pointing out among other things that the maxim "*conquirendi non sunt*" limited more than ever the conditions under which a Christian would actually be brought to account, by throwing the initiative as a rule solely upon the populace. But in the same expression he finds also a confirmation of his own position as to the degree of danger which the earlier Cæsars actually perceived in the Christian communities. For he holds, as against Ramsay, that while the *obstinatio* of the Christians seemed to leave Trajan no option to coercing men whose position was logically that of "*hostes publici*";

yet it is impossible to harmonise his policy of waiving *aggressive* measures, calculated to stamp out Christianity altogether, with Ramsay's theory that even the Flavii regarded the Christians as a "united organisation." For in that case Trajan must have regarded them still more in the light of an actual menace to his government. Here it is hard to avoid the impression that Ramsay is antedating matters, and that his language about the solidarity between the Christian Churches to the imperial eye, is really appropriate only to the age of Marcus Aurelius at the earliest. But even as regards the severer persecutions known to us under Aurelius, Hardy makes out a strong case against Neumann's theory that these were due to any advance in policy on Cæsar's part. Informers were certainly now being tolerated, if not encouraged, as never before; but the special measures at Lyons seem due in the main to the idiosyncrasy of the legate in that quarter, in conjunction with the mob. Soon after, indeed, with the emergence of synods representing ever more and more churches, we feel that we are on the eve of change towards the conditions of a Catholic Church as a "united organisation" recognisable even to outsiders, "a State within the State," the existence of which must ere long evoke a policy of more than occasional opposition. And the stages by which this approximated to a systematic persecution have already been referred to, as they are traced in Neumann's work.

Hardy devotes his last chapter to a collateral subject, the relation of Christianity to *collegia*. Here he too points out that, granting the adoption by Christians of such forms as those of the *coll. tenuiorum* devoted especially "*egenis alendis humandisque*" (Tertullian, *Apol.* 39)—subsequently, as it seems, to the more indulgent policy of Hadrian in such matters—this carried with it no respite for Christians as such. Finally, in an Appendix, he epitomises two "Acta" of the reign of Commodus, those of the Scilitan Martyrs and of Apollonius, and shows their harmony with his general positions. The reader should, however, be made aware that Robinson has published in the *Texts and Studies*, i. 2, what is probably the original Latin form of these Scilitan Acts, though this does not affect Hardy's results. In taking leave of the subject with a good heart in view of what has recently been accomplished by students of Roman institutions, one cannot help expressing the hope that they will continue their "mixed" studies; and at least work out to more precision the subject of the *collegia* of various types, whose bearing upon Church organisation can hardly as yet be said to stand out clear in the dry light of science.

VERNON BARTLET.

**Basal Concepts in Philosophy: An Inquiry into Being,
Non-Being, and Becoming.**

*By Alexander T. Ormond, Ph.D., Professor of Philosophy in
Princeton University. New York: Scribners. 8vo, pp. 308.
Price, \$1.50.*

**Die Neutestamentliche Formel "In Christo Jesu"
untersucht**

*Von Lic. theol. Adolf Deissmann, Privat-docenten und Repetenten
an der Universität Marburg. Marburg: Elwert. 8vo, pp.
136. Price, M. 2.50.*

**Die Paulinische Lehre vom Gesetz nach den Vier
Hauptbriefen.**

*Von Dr. Eduard Grafe, Ord. Professor an der Universität Bonn.
2nd Auf. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. 8vo, pp. v. 33.
Price, M. 0.70.*

**Das Weltelend und die Welterlösung; Versuch einer
Pneumatik.**

*Von K. Hollensteiner. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. 8vo, pp. viii.
676. Price, M. 10, geb. 12.*

**Die Bedeutung des lebendigen Christus für die
Rechtfertigung nach Paulus.**

*Von Lic. G. Schäder, Privat-docent in Griefswald. Gütersloh:
C. Bertelsmann. 8vo, pp. viii. 124. Price, M. 2.40.*

Le Péché d'Après l'Éthique de Rothe.

*Par F. Leenhardt, Docteur des Sciences, Docteur en Théologie.
Paris: Fischbacher. 8vo, pp. 299.*

THE problem of Professor Ormond's book may be briefly stated thus: How does the creative energy of the Absolute fall short of an absolute result, and only produces the finite and imperfect? How can a finite and imperfect world be the work of an infinite and perfect self-conscious spirit? The book is the solution of the problem. Whether we think that the solution is adequate, or that it is not, certainly all competent readers will agree that in Professor Ormond we have found a metaphysician of the highest order. He is learned in the history of philosophy; he has made himself acquainted with the great systems of philosophy; and his speculative power and insight are not hampered or hindered by his learn-

ing. Sometimes, indeed, our attention is diverted from the main issue, by the keenness of the criticism bestowed on some of the great systems, and by the brilliancy of the sections in which Professor Ormond sums up the trend and tendency of philosophic thought. We know nothing more brilliant than the few pages in which he touches "the mountain-peaks of speculation, ancient and modern," and sums up as follows:—"The great lesson the masters have to teach is that philosophy reaches its highest category in the notion of being as, in its essence, self-activity. The intuition of this is as old as Socrates and Plato. In modern philosophy Hegel is the one thinker whose system has embodied the insight most clearly and adequately: and for this reason, in spite of all its shortcomings, Hegelism reaches the high-water mark of modern speculation. Its failure, therefore, to ground rationally the sphere of relativity in the Absolute has thrown modern thought back in a wave of philosophic despair. If the highest thinking fails to ground knowledge in an absolute principle, the logical inference seems to be that the attempt is vain, and that agnosticism is the final outcome of philosophy" (p. 18).

How, then, does Professor Ormond proceed "to ground rationally the sphere of relativity in the Absolute"? We have found this to be the hardest part of the book. Professor Ormond thinks that Hegel made a great step when he restored the Negative as a necessary philosophical datum. His own solution consists in a more thorough restoration of the Negative. We must let Professor Ormond speak for himself. "Non-being as an objective and anti-thetic term thus arises as a necessary consequence of being itself when conceived as spirit, and construed in the light of the logos-principle. How, then, can the category of non-being be shown to be philosophically necessary? Its value arises chiefly as a principle of disjunction and discrimination. So applied it brings some vital philosophical conceptions to the birth which it would otherwise be very difficult to realise. In the first place, it makes a disjunction between the immanent and exeunt energising of the Absolute not only conceivable but also rational, in the motive it supplies for it in spirit's intuition of its own negative and opposite. The very self-assertion of being which is its essence, will lead it to assert itself against and upon its opposite, for its suppression and annulment of it. In the second place, as we have seen above, a true conception of non-being renders the origin of the world-series and its relative character intelligible. The self-assertion of being against its opposite not only explains its exeunt energy, but also the origin of the world-process as not in the Absolute but in the negative sphere. The negative sphere is being's opposite, and is negative in the sense that it lacks the ground-principle which is the essence of

being. Logically, then, a creature originating in this sphere will be relative and mutable, its ground and rationale being not in itself but in another. In the idea of the Negative we thus find the key to a problem over which all philosophy has puzzled: namely, how an absolute energy could produce a creature which is only relative. The outgoing energy can produce no other than a relative result" (pp. 41, 42). It is well to get acquainted with a Negative which can produce such positive results, and can so hamper the Absolute "that it can produce no other than a relative result." But what is it when we do meet with it? Well, here is what Professor Ormond says about it: "Non-being cannot be conceived as any kind of activity, or as a potency out of which anything develops. It has no type, and can be represented by no positive constructive categories. It negates all positive predication. The only guiding clue we can have to its predication is that of antithesis and opposition. It is what Being excludes from its nature as contradictory. Shall we call it energy, a cause, or substance? By no means. It is the negative of energy" (pp. 38, 39). And so on. Yet this Non-being, which is negative on all sides, has so much reality that it causes the Absolute to produce only a relative result. As for ourselves, we find the transition from Non-being and the Negative to the function which they play in Professor Ormond's system to be absolutely unthinkable. We can only say so, and let the matter alone. Apart from this we have found much that is valuable in the book, and many true things finely said. In the stress he lays on activity and personality, he has done good service. And in some ways the book is a valuable contribution to current speculative thought.

The formula $\epsilon\nu\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}\ \text{'}\ \text{I}\eta\sigma\acute{o}\upsilon$ occurs frequently in the New Testament, and Herr Deissmann has set himself to determine its meaning. With a thoroughness truly German he has collected the statistics of the formula in the New Testament, and in the Pauline writings in particular. What is the meaning of the term "In Christ Jesus"? It occurs, Herr Deissmann says, 164 times in the Pauline writings. A study of these writings is therefore necessary, so he seeks to investigate the sources of the Pauline idiom, and he has some valuable remarks on the necessity of a historical syntax of the Greek language for the exegesis of the New Testament. The Septuagint also must be rationally used.

Then there is a grammatical discussion on the use of the preposition $\epsilon\nu$ with the personal singular in Classical Greek, and in Greek which has been influenced by the Semitic spirit and usage. An inquiry into the Pauline usage of $\epsilon\nu$ with the personal singular, in other expressions than in the phrase "in Christ Jesus," follows; and

we have an investigation into the sources of the Pauline syntax. Paul is the author of the phrase, and what then does this phrase mean? After a detailed discussion, the particulars of which space forbids us to give, Herr Deissmann sums up the result as follows: Paul, under the influence of a usage common in profane Greek, created the formula, "in Christ Jesus," to express the relation of the Christian to Christ Jesus, "als ein lokal aufzufassendes Sich-befinden in dem pneumatischen Christus." In short, the formula is the proper Pauline expression of the highest concentrated inner fellowship of the Christian with Christ. This general meaning is used by the author to explain the particular passages in the Pauline Epistles where the formula occurs. Then follow sections dealing with the central significance of the formula in all the literature of Paulinism, and, finally, the after-effects of the formula is traced.

The book is able, learned, and thorough. But the material might be better arranged, and the style is atrocious. Herr Deissmann has much to learn ere he can make his meaning clear. Has any man the right to be obscure?

Professor Grafe's lecture on the Pauline doctrine of the Law, as set forth in the four great Epistles, is already in a second edition. It is not surprising, for the lecture is unusually good. Clear in style, lucid in arrangement, and reverent in tone, it comprises within a few pages the results of prolonged thought and profound study. After the problem is set forth in a page or two, the Professor illustrates the use of νόμος with and without the article, and seeks to determine its meaning in either case; then he has a paragraph on the distinction between ethical and ritual law, which distinction, he says, Paul does not make; next he discusses the significance and purpose of the law; and lastly deals with some antinomies which emerge in a full view of all the places where Paul treats of the law. He reminds us that Paul's chief aim was to preach the gospel. Paul did not set forth his teaching in a dogmatic fashion, nor was dialectics in the first place with Paul. Both dogmatics and dialectics were in the service of the preacher. It is well that Professor Grafe should remind writers on Paulinism of this significant fact.

Herr Hollensteiner's book is partly homiletic and partly systematic. The author takes much time and a large space to say what he wants to say, and what might be said more effectively within a smaller compass. It is the old theme of the misery of the world and its redemption that he discusses, and he discusses these on the old lines. In 72 pages he sets forth the misery of the world, its

causes, and its extent; and the rest of the book deals with the redemption of the world. There is much in the book which is true and edifying, and much that is finely said; but there is nothing that seems to call for further remark.

Herr Schäder's volume is one of those painstaking and thorough studies of a particular topic, with which young German theologians so often begin their literary career. Herr Schäder's topic is the significance of the living Christ for Justification according to the teaching of Paul. After a preliminary statement of the question, the author gives us a statement of the views of the more recent writers on Biblical Theology with regard to the significance of the death and resurrection of Christ in relation to the forgiveness of sins and Justification. He then passes in brief review the works of Weiss, Pfeiderer, Chr. J. Schmid, Messner, Ritschl, Baur, R. Schmidt, Weizsäcker, Gess, Lipsius, and Hofmann. He is not satisfied with these results, and gives his reasons. Finally, we have a detailed examination of those passages in the acknowledged Pauline Epistles, and in the Acts of the Apostles, which bear on the question. His conclusion is that, according to the teaching of Paul, the condition of the gracious activity of God, by which he declares a sinner to be justified, is not based on any historical work of Christ as such, specially not on any event in the history of Christ, nor on the whole course of His earthly life, but on the super-historical Jesus Christ Himself, as He has manifested Himself for the salvation of man in His life, death, and resurrection. The work is well done, and deserves careful study. It is useful also as a check to that tendency of theologians to turn Christian facts into logical abstractions, and to deal with them as if the doctrines of forgiveness of sins, of atonement, justification, &c., have virtue in themselves, and apart from Christ. We all need to get back to the living Christ, and this book is helpful for this end.

The influence of Rothe can be traced in many forms in the theological literature of our own and other lands, and yet it may be said that few men have made a complete study of all his works. His *Dogmatik* and his *Zur Dogmatik* have had many readers, but how many have read through or have thoroughly studied his *Ethics*? We welcome the study of his work given us here by Dr Leenhardt. He is clear where Rothe is often obscure, and though clear, he is also profound. While the main purpose of his book is to set forth Rothe's doctrine of sin, he knows that he must, in order to reach that particular doctrine, give us some adequate conception of Rothe's system as a whole. Thus he gives in his first section Rothe's doctrine of God and creation. In six chapters he

speaks of God, of creation, of the world as the result of creation, of the realisation of creation, of man; and in these chapters we have a clear and full account of Rothe's system. Then he speaks of sin, its origin and its nature, and of degradation as the result of sin.

So far his work is descriptive and expository. He is setting forth Rothe's system, and has done it in a most admirable way. The second part of the book is critical. Rothe's system, as well as his doctrine of sin, rests on the conception of spirit which he has set forth in his works. What that conception is is well set forth and adequately criticised. Then follows a critical examination of the metaphysical and psychological elements of sin, of Rothe's view of the inevitableness of sin, and of the speculative methods. Finally, in some forty pages of lucid and pregnant writing, M. Leenhardt sums up the results. Whether we look at its expository portions or at the critical sections, the book is in every way admirable. It is the work of a strong thinker, who has also the power of clearly expressing his thoughts.

JAMES IVERACH.

Geschichte und Kritik der neueren Theologie, insbesondere der systematischen, seit Schleiermacher.

Von Fr. H. R. von Frank. Erlangen und Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchh., 1894. 8vo, pp. vi., 350. Price, M. 6.

To the various histories and sketches of modern German theology which have recently appeared, an important addition has been made by Frank's literary executors. By his disciples these College Lectures have been hailed as towering far above even Dorner's ingenious *Geschichte der protestantischen Theologie*. It is a tolerable education in the present theological situation in Germany to compare and contrast the Erlangen lectures with the short studies of the same subject by Pfeiderer and Kattenbusch.¹ Naturally less full than Lichtenberger's *History*, Frank's posthumous book surpasses it in interest by registering the latest doctrinal developments, and, in particular, by maintaining the confessionalist position against the Ritschlians with an excess of polemical heat.

The "*Geschichte und Kritik der Neueren Theologie*" is distinguished, in point of form, from Frank's greater works, by being eminently readable. It contains truly masterly historical surveys and deeply interesting biographical pieces. The grouping of the dogmatic theologians of the century departs so far from the usual classification into confessional, liberal, and mediating or eclectic. Four prin-

¹ *Entwicklung der protestantischen Theologie seit Kant. O. Pfeiderer. 1893. Von Schleiermacher zu Ritschl, F. Kattenbusch. 1893.*

cipal schools are distinguished—viz., Schleiermacher and his disciples, the philosophical group—represented chiefly by the two Hegelian wings, the churchly type (including the more positive eclectics), and the neological school, which is mainly ranged under the banner of Ritschl. Frank differs from Pfeiderer in that he admits the right of the Ritschlian theology to a special chapter, but he does not follow Kattenbusch in the effort of imagination by which the latter comprehends Schleiermacher, the Hegelians, and the Confessionalists in a single class under the name of Romanticists. The chapter on Schleiermacher is a luminous and valuable monograph. It is a striking instance of impartiality that the warmest eulogiums are passed on the scientific work of two of the most negative representatives of the negative schools. The acuteness, the erudition, and the systematising gift of Alexander Schweizer are celebrated in terms which must draw renewed attention, especially in the British and American churches, to the researches and speculations of Schleiermacher's greatest disciple; while the equally hearty panegyric on Biedermann's "Christliche Dogmatik," as the most important recent contribution to Systematic Theology, will guide students of philosophy to the ripest result of the long-drawn endeavour to Hegelianise Christianity. It is interesting to notice in this connection that Frank, who places Pfeiderer in a much lower room than Biedermann, agrees with the former's Scotch critics in charging him with a want of candour in veiling his anti-Christian positions by the misappropriation of Christian formulae. To Biedermann a still higher tribute is paid than the compliment of *Meisterschaft*—the great orthodox divine protesting that his opponent's heart overcame in his life the negations of his system, and hailing him as a fellow-Christian though his gaze did not reach to Heaven and hardly to the living God.

In striking contrast to Frank's generous recognition of the work of Schweizer and Biedermann is the bitter disparagement of the neo-Kantian school, which, breaking forth as it does on almost every possible opportunity, stamps the book with the character of an anti-Ritschl pamphlet. The general point of view is that this theology is a morbid growth—the natural product of a period of religious backsliding. Its popularity, as is more fully set forth in "Die Theologie A. Ritschl's," is largely due to its accommodations to the demands of an increasingly sceptical and unspiritual generation. Its honesty is impugned. Its claim to originality is belittled, and it is allowed but one striking characteristic—the sterility of its exponents. The school is equally unproductive in Dogmatics and Home Missions. Such, with a few grudging concessions, is the outline of Frank's indictment, and little learning is needed to prove that it is grossly unjust and uncharitable. The literary activity of the Ritschlians

is one of the most striking features of the present time, and makes the impression of being the outcome of a youthful energy to which there remains much land to be possessed. Unduly timid as is the Ritschlian faith in supernatural realities, it is at least as just to connect it with honesty as with a defective sense of sin. Meagre and illogical the type of doctrine may be, but it seems strange that Frank could feel so little sympathy with men who at least heartily accept a revelation, whose watchword is the Gospel, and who, in the famous Eisenach declaration, professed that "living or dying their trust was in Christ alone."

The sternness, not to say the virulence, of Frank's attitude towards the neo-Kantians is due to his conviction that, largely through their influence, the sound development of German theology has been arrested and its harvest of thought endangered. The true line of theological progress, in his view, was that which, originating in the spiritual revival of the first quarter of the century, was at first simply evangelical, as it gathered strength became more and more rigidly confessional, and took a classic shape in the colossal system of Philippi. To correct, continue, and complete the orthodox reconstruction of doctrine, and, above all, to plant it on an immovable foundation was, Frank felt, the work which God had given him to do. Unlike his great predecessor, he believed that the Christian thinker of the nineteenth century was called to add to as well as to reproduce the heritage from the seventeenth; but still more did he feel it to be his mission to strengthen the foundations which carried the imposing edifice. Imperilled by his predecessors, who worked with a theory of the Bible which overlooked its human side, and ignored the results of criticism, the same structure of Christian truth was based by him on the experience of the regenerated soul, and thus based was supposed to be able to defy all floods and storms. And with this conception of his mission, Frank's polemics are intelligible, less as the result of a disappointed hope of summing up and crowning a great movement than as an outburst of indignation at the men who have seduced many, and marred a great work of God.

It is not necessary now to enquire whether Frank's method is sound—whether Christian experience can be made to give a genuine imprimatur to the Titanic systems which the system-builders of an earlier time reared by means of the dogma of verbal inspiration. It is sufficient at present to take note of the pessimism which animates his last words on the present position of religion, and as the outcome of this, the present state of theology. "The spring is over and gone. The sun, which we saw rise, is sloping to the west. The fields, once richly watered, on which there sprouted a noble seed, are dry

and withered. Fruit there has been—noble and fair, but the promise of the blossom has not been fully redeemed. The power of enthusiasm, the glow of love, that marked the revival-epoch, have vanished—now all is chilled.” These words will recall to some minds the similar laments that have been uttered in Scotland from Moderators’ Chairs and elsewhere over the decay of vital religion. But admitting the premises, admitting a general decline in religious fervour, it may fairly be claimed that this is at least balanced by an ethical revival. The general conscience was never so sensitive as to-day. The spirit of Christ never worked before so powerfully in the hearts of men. And this being so, it is an act of unbelief to despair of theology, for it is written that when men do His will they will know the doctrine.

W. P. PATERSON.

Der Pessimismus.

Im Lichte einer höher Weltauffassung von Dr J. Friedländer und Dr M. Berendt. Berlin: Gerstmann. 8vo, pp. iii. 111. Price, M. 2.

THE readers of this tractate, whether they adopt its conclusions or not, will admire its method of procedure. Its aim is to refute Pessimism, and it seeks to accomplish it neither by minimising the data of the theory, nor by directly attacking its point of view, but by revealing a deeper and more comprehensive doctrine. Once this latter is grasped, Pessimism, the authors contend, will fall away of itself, for it is a deeper positive and not a mere negative which confutes.

The Pessimism of our day seems to the authors to be in the main the product of the imperfect social and political institutions within which the individual lives, and it finds its most clear and effective expression in religion and philosophy. The truths which at one time were living have now become conventional, and they neither solve our intellectual doubts nor still the unrest of the heart. Philosophy has lost its consciousness of the unity of the world and become a vendor of learned opinions; and being no longer original but an echo, it can neither convince nor satisfy mankind. Science, on its part, has accomplished much for man’s outward life, but its goods are for the most part material, and it leaves man’s spirit the poorer for these very gifts. Society, again, rests upon caprice; and no one, not even the unreflecting, escapes the doubts and the despair which arise from the unequal distribution of its rewards and its burdens. And our practical life, which is already sufficiently sad, is made still more sad by our theories of it. For Darwinism, with its rude right of the stronger, is extending itself

over the moral relations of man ; and while Pessimism embitters the wrongs and miseries by recounting them, Materialism makes them the necessary results of a mechanical system, and thereby finally closes the door of hope. In its darkness and weakness and despair our age is like that in which Christ came ; and the deliverance and redemption obtained then through One who knew the truth because He lived it, we need once more in a new form. Christianity healed man's hurts for centuries ; but it has been stifled with foreign growths ; truths have become false with age, because they have remained fixed in the midst of the expanding forms of human life. The Church must be rebuilt once more on a new basis and in the old spirit. It alone will put an end to this interregnum between the rule of truth and truth, and destroy the power of unbelief and despair, of Atheism, Pessimism, Scepticism, and Materialism, or by whatever name negation is called. And the foundation of that Church is to be sought in a deeper and better view of the world.

The purpose thus sketched is faithfully pursued by these writers, and although they have little to offer that may be regarded as new, they have dealt with their material in a comprehensive way, keeping nearly always in the mid-stream of principles, and speaking with the freshness and force which comes from the conviction that their gospel is true, and their own.

The outer-walls of the New Temple are being silently built by Natural Science. While the power of religion has been failing and philosophers have been brawling, a new force, unexpectedly triumphant, has appeared in our midst. The conquests of Science are due to its impersonal objectivity. For it does not look at Nature from the point of view of the needs of mankind, nor seek to understand her in the reflected light of egoism and utilitarianism ; but endeavours to know her *as she is*. Natural Science has nothing to do with satisfying man's yearnings, and it is indifferent, in this respect, both to religion and philosophy, which endeavour respectively to find rest for the heart and the intellect. Science is not concerned with the value, or the worth or use of facts, but with their nature. Its motives are pure, and, unlike Theism, it refuses to make man the goal of the enterprise of the world and of God. It does not seek to make God the instrument of man's purpose, to move Him by prayer to realize man's aims. A personal God with Whom there is direct relation, Who may work miracles for the sake of educating mankind into goodness, and Who grants a beyond, an Immortality, and a Heaven, are impossible for Natural Science. The system of Nature is its all, whose value is in itself, and which is prized by Science for its own sole sake.

Hence, so far as the "anthropoteleologic" point of view is concerned, which degrades God and the World into instruments where-

with to secure man's welfare, Science is purely negative. Man is not end but means, and Nature is not means but an end. But although Science clears away these unworthy ideas of God and the Universe, which cumbered the ground, and which, at any rate, had lost their power over the minds of men, it makes also a positive contribution to truth. It shows that Nature is one, constant, harmonious, complete, the source and goal of its own activity, and therefore both Necessary and Free. For freedom is just the necessity of the *Whole*, an order which is self-imposed, or, rather, not imposed at all, but the natural outcome and expression of that which is.

Nevertheless, this very exclusion of all criteria of worth in the attempt to know that which is, apart from all consideration of that which should be, shows that Science is abstract. It is abstract on purpose, and is, so far, justified in the results it achieves; but if it forgets its own abstractness and goes on to extend its methods and principles to man himself, it falls into error. It seeks *natural law* in the spiritual world; it explains man from the point of view of Cause and Mechanism; it ceases to be Science and becomes a philosophy, and a false one, because an abstract one. Treat Science as complete and final, and Materialism follows, and Materialism is doubly pessimistic.

For, first, it is based upon contingency or chance, and chance is the cruellest necessity. It relates event to event within the world, it is true; but the world itself need not have been, or might have been otherwise, and derives its being from no intelligent principle. And secondly, Materialism explains by levelling downwards. Even when it uses the implement of Development, it treats each new form as it arises as if it were a mere repetition of the old, and consequently the whole movement is absurd and meaningless. We have atoms and their movements at the end, and we had these already at the beginning. Thus everything which is specifically human is eliminated from man. He is made subject to natural necessity. Indeed, every fact loses its special essence and the particularity which constitutes its being, and nothing remains over except general laws.

It is right and good that Science should reveal these laws and carry our minds from the parts to the systematic whole; but this is not enough. The particular must be saved. We must attain to the view of a whole which articulates itself in the parts, instead of a system of empty universals, the natural laws, which expunges them. This view Science cannot give. But Pantheism steps in to its aid, and saves each particular thing by making it the expression, or, so to speak, the more or less perfect impersonation of the Whole. From Nature thus conceived as a Whole with its reason and, therefore, its necessity within itself, new species ever emerge in ascending

scale. But they emerge because they are already there. Evolution is thus inspired and guided from within, and is, not as Darwin represented it, dependent upon the accidents of environment. These ascending forms of being appear as soon as the conditions necessary for them are realized. But these conditions do not cause them; they awaken them, as the incidents of the life of an individual rouse into activity his latent talents.

From this point of view each stage of being is explicable only in the light of the ultimate goal of the whole process, as successive steps in the *self* realisation, and, therefore, the *free* realisation, of that which is highest and best. And that highest and best is the Community of the spiritually free. In this way Nature, which our authors regard as the whole, or the absolute, being determined from within just because it *is* the whole, and realising itself in spirit, is itself spirit. Hence the pessimistic interpretation of Nature is false; for it treats nature as necessitated from without, whose beginning is found neither within itself nor elsewhere. The conditioned cannot be free.

For the same reason, that is, because dealt with in isolation from any original principle, the finite beings which constitute Nature are regarded by Science as in the dominion of a foreign and hard necessity. But we correct the error if we regard them in the light of the whole of which they are parts, which determines itself, and which realises itself in them. And as the spirit of the whole breathes in each part, each part carries within it the freedom of the whole with all its blessedness. There is a limited part of Eternal Nature granted to each being and each organism. In virtue of this, its final nature, each individual thing necessarily strives to continue its own existence and maintain itself. But owing to the fact that the parts are *only* parts, and are therefore interlocked in a system of mutual relations, they must perish. The light which was temporarily focussed in them becomes again dissipated, and they give back the being which had been lent to them. Self-preservation depends upon escape from this limitedness, and that in turn comes only by adopting more and more perfectly the law and the purpose of the whole. This is done more completely in organic than in inorganic, in conscious than in unconscious, in self-conscious than in conscious existence.

I need not follow the steps of the authors as they ascend from Nature to Spirit, nor dilate on their application of this view to Ethics. It is sufficient to say that they find self-preservation, permanence, indestructibility at its highest in those men who, penetrating beneath the temporary aims of their age, hold directly by the eternal, by Nature's self, comprehend her purposes and live to give them effect.

In order thus to realise the highest, these writers find each lower

stage necessary. Spirit can do nothing apart from Sense. In fact Nature is not pure Spirit, but sensuous existence animated by Spirit. Hence sense is not to be condemned; and this is the advantage which the new Evangel has over Christianity, that it does not condemn sense. Christianity was a spiritual but also a one-sided view of the world, carrying within it the seeds of asceticism, and therefore of endless warfare. It was in fact the opposite abstraction to Materialism. Materialism knows nothing of Spirit in Nature. Christianity knows nothing of Nature except that which is Spiritual. But Pantheism combines the truth of both theories, and thereby lifts man above their antagonism, making matter and sense the means of Spirit,—necessary means it is true, but still only means.

As a criticism of Pessimism this tractate is valuable. Indeed, it is full of suggestive conceptions. But few readers can be as confident as the authors are that their view calms the troubled waters of human life. The finite perishes, after all, and there is none who, on this theory, remains to realise the good. The whole is meaningless and empty, for all its parts are successively lost.

HENRY JONES.

The Book of Numbers.

By the Rev. Robert A. Watson, M.A., D.D. The Expositor's Bible.
London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1894. Cr. 8vo, pp. 416.
Price, 7s. 6d.

THE Book of Numbers is not without its difficulties to an expositor. The analysis favoured by the higher critics assigns a considerable portion of the book to PC. And the usual questions as to the determination of documents, the trustworthiness of professedly historical narratives, &c., crop up and claim consideration. Dr Watson shows with sufficient clearness that such questions are there, but he does not linger over them. The discussion of critical questions is not his purpose. The general trustworthiness of the narrative is accepted by Dr Watson. The basis of the book he finds in "contemporary records of some incidents, and traditions early committed to writing" (p. 11). "The documents were undoubtedly ancient at the time of their final recension, whensoever and by whomsoever it was made." They are "venerable records, reaching back to the time they profess to describe, and presenting, though with some traditional haze, the important incidents of the desert journey" (*ibid.*) Even in respect to Legislation a Mosaic origin is claimed for a great mass of it (p. 12). The date of the book as one of the Hexateuchal series is another matter. Dr Watson does not discuss that point,—it lies outside the object he

has in view. On the general question, however, of the comparative dates of the books of the Hexateuch, he makes this noteworthy observation:—"It is now becoming clear that attempts to settle these dates can only darken the main question—the antiquity of the original records and enactments" (p. 12). He also very properly calls attention to the fact that those who hold that, in the present form of the Hexateuch, Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers are of a later age than Ezekiel, "assume that many things in the law and the history are of far older date, based indeed on what, at the time of Ezekiel, must have been immemorial usage" (pp. 12, 13). And then he adds, "The main legislation of the Pentateuch must have existed in the time of Josiah, and even then possessed the authority of ancient observance. The priesthood, the ark, sacrifice and feast, the shewbread, the ephod, can be traced back beyond the time of David to that of Samuel and Eli, quite apart from the testimony of the books of Moses" (p. 13). These are reasonable words, and, at the present time, are fitted to exercise a wholesome influence. The appeal to the historical books cannot be disregarded. Those books have something to say as to priestly legislation and ritual before the exile, and that something must be fairly dealt with.

As already indicated, the general trustworthiness of the narrative is accepted, and Dr Watson finds support for his view in the internal evidence supplied by the book. "The honesty of the writing is proved by the very characteristics that make some statements hard to interpret, and some of the records difficult to receive" (pp. 10, 11).

Our author, as we have noted, does not dwell on purely critical questions, but he gives ample proof of his capacity as a critic. Dealing with the account of the jealousy of Miriam and Aaron (chap. xii.), he speaks as if with the confidence of a Wellhausen. "It may be confidently said that no representative writer of the post-exilic age would have invented or even cared to revive the episode of this chapter. . . . We may safely assert that if the Pentateuch did not come into existence till after the new ideas of exclusion were established (that is, till after the Exile), and if it was written then for the purpose of exalting Moses and his law, the reference to his Cushite wife would certainly have been suppressed" (pp. 136, 137).

One of the most important narratives in the book of Numbers is that in which the rebellious movement of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram is reported (chaps. xvi. and xvii.). Dr Watson points out the improbability attaching to Wellhausen's explanation, and shows the reasonableness of the view that historical transactions, belonging to the period of the Wilderness wanderings, are recorded.

The text has its difficulties on any view of the critical question. The rebellion is directed partly against Moses as leader of the people, partly against the priesthood of Aaron and his house. Dr Watson admits that there may have been two distinct risings, but in his exposition he deals with them "as simultaneous and more or less combined." And he gives it as his opinion that "a great deal is left unexplained, and we must be guided by the belief that the narrative of the whole book has a certain coherency, and that facts previously recorded must have had their bearing on those now to be examined" (p. 195). Holding that actual occurrences are reported, Dr Watson very properly emphasises the serious character of this rebellion. It threatened the fulfilment of the divine purpose that lay behind the call of Israel to be the salvational people. "The dictatorship of Moses, the Aaronic priesthood, and the unity of worship, stood or fell together. One of the three removed, the others would have given way. But the revolutionary spirit, springing out of ambition and a disaffection for which there was no excuse, was blind to consequences. And the stern suppression of this revolt, at whatever cost, was absolutely needful if there was to be any future for Israel" (p. 202). To the Aaronic priesthood Dr Watson assigns something like its proper importance in the training of the chosen people for the fulfilment of their mission. "The institution of the Aaronic priesthood was a step of progress indispensable to the security of religion and the brotherhood of the tribes in that high sense for which they were made a nation. But it was at the same time a confession that Israel was not spiritual, was not the holy congregation Korah declared it to be" (p. 208). From our point of view, nothing would be more likely to keep alive among the tribes a sentiment of real brotherhood than the unity of worship presided over by a priestly family divinely set apart for that purpose. And if so, the ideal period for the centralising of the worship under the charge of the chosen priesthood is the beginning of the nation's history. Hence the probability that in chaps. xvi. and xvii. actual occurrences are reported, with sufficient accuracy for the purpose contemplated in the divine revelation. Other narratives of scarcely less interest might be referred to, but our space is exhausted. The main value of Dr Watson's book lies in the happy and often striking way in which these old narratives are made to speak to present times. The typological element is in no respect forced. There is no *feckless* spiritualising. But the great moral and religious truths which lie at the basis of the narrative are brought out and pressed home on the life in which we are all taking part, so that He who spoke to the tribes of Israel in the wilderness truly speaks to us, and the message is as suitable now as it was three thousand years ago.

Dr Watson links on the Church of the nineteenth century of our Christian era to the Church that began its career at the foot of Mount Sinai. For purposes of edification and spiritual instruction, this volume on Numbers is not the least useful of the Expositor's Bible.

GEO. G. CAMERON.

A History of the Christian Church During the First Six Centuries.

*By S. Cheetham, D.D., F.S.A., Archdeacon and Canon of Rochester ;
Honorary Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge ; Fellow and
Emeritus Professor of King's College, London. London :
Macmillan & Co., 1894. Cr. 8vo, p. xii. 460. Price, 10s. 6d.*

OUR acquaintance with Dr Cheetham as a writer on historical subjects dates from 1875, in which year there was published *A Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, edited by William Smith, D.C.L., LL.D., and Samuel Cheetham, M.A., Professor of Pastoral Theology in King's College, London.

All the qualities which characterised the London Professor as joint-editor of and contributor to that standard book of reference are to be found in the chapters of his most recent contribution to the literature of his favourite field of study. There is the same ample and ripe scholarship, such scholarship as Cambridge delights to produce and to honour. There is the same independence of research and of judgment. The honorary Fellow of Cambridge and Emeritus Professor of London is no borrower of other scholars' material, no reproducer of other authors' opinions. He has examined the primary sources of knowledge in every department of his wide field, and formed his own judgment as to the conclusions they warrant, and there is the same candour in acknowledging what a mere party writer would be tempted to conceal or colour to suit his purpose. Thus it is pleasing to meet with a Anglican historian who assumes that the word "bishop" is in the New Testament absolutely synonymous with that of "presbyter," even although he qualifies the assumption with the statement that it by no means follows that such a minister as was afterwards designated a "bishop" was not found in the apostolic age. It must be gratifying to Presbyterian contenders for the rights of the Christian people to find it conceded by an Episcopalian authority that Leo the Great's principle "*Nullus in vitis et non petentibus ordinetur*" prevailed in earlier ages of the Church, that Presbyters while appointed by Bishops were so with the consent of the local community, and that "in some instances—as in that of St Augustine—the local church people

chose their candidate, whom they presented to the Bishop for ordination." And it is creditable alike to the candour and the scholarship of our author that, when treating of the Scoto-Irish Church, he affirms it "was developed in perfect independence of Rome," and adduces in corroboration of this position not merely the existence among Celtic Christians of an Easter and a tonsure peculiar to themselves, but also the predominance of abbats over bishops. Dr Cheetham frankly admits that in the monasteries of Scotland and Ireland the order of things sometimes was that the abbat had among his monks a bishop subject to his jurisdiction who performed episcopal functions for the monastery, as he received instructions from his ecclesiastical superiors. All this English writer's statements bearing on the Christian ministry and the organisation of the early Christian Churches are marked by breadth of view and liberality of sentiment.

With excellencies such as have been mentioned, Dr Cheetham's Church History has blemishes which an impartial critic cannot fail to note and deplore. The composition is not faultless. To describe second marriages of the clergy as from the first "discommended," and to represent Athanasius as led "to ponder on" the mystery of the Godhead, and Julian as "pondering on" the restoration of paganism, is surely to take liberties with the English language not permissible to a Doctor of Divinity or an Archdeacon and Canon of the Church of England.

Then there is a weakness which even the erudite and generally fair-minded among Anglican writers not unfrequently display, that, viz., of endeavouring to find Scriptural authority for usages and institutions of later growth or introduction. Can, for example, anything be feebler than to adduce Paul's mention of Onesiphorus as a Scripture instance of prayer offered by the living for the faithful dead? Even granting that Onesiphorus was dead when Paul wrote his Second Epistle to Timothy, the language used is not necessarily that of prayer, it may be the expression of a pious hope or aspiration. If, however, it is to be of any service in the interests of the practice of praying for the departed the reference must be to one who was no longer among the living. But it is universally admitted that there is not a shred of evidence to prove Onesiphorus either dead or alive. And yet Dr Luckock, in his book "After Death," which has reached a ninth edition, calmly trots out the passage in question under the heading, "The Testimony of Holy Scripture," speaks of "the extreme probability" that Onesiphorus was dead at the time when Paul wrote, and concludes that when the thoughts of the latter "were carried on to his benefactor, knowing that he had no longer need of it [mercy] in this world, as his survivors had, the vision of the future judgment rises up before

the writer's mind, and he adds, 'The Lord grant to him,' not to the household, 'to find mercy in that day.'

Now from this weakness Dr Cheetham is not entirely free. Thus, when he is treating of the office of Reader in the early days of the Church he is not content with carrying his reference to this officer as far back as the middle of the second century, but gravely asserts "there is possibly a trace of the office of Reader even in Scripture itself," and in a footnote he adduces two passages which, in his opinion, justify that statement. What are these passages? The first is taken from *The Revelation*—"blessed is *he that readeth*," and they that hear the words of this prophecy," and the second from First Timothy—"give attendance to *reading*, to exhortation, to doctrine." Surely this is a very slender basis on which to rest even the possibility of a Scripture trace of the office.

Turning from these details to the general scope and structure of this latest contribution to the literature of Church History the narrative will be seen at once to be summary, as indeed it must be in a book that professes to give the history of the first six centuries in a single volume of 442 crown octavo pages. The compression required to be practised in order to attain this result is such as often renders individual sentences of little or no informing value. Of what use is it to anyone to be informed that Ambrose "is believed to have written hymns which have *maintained their vogue* [sic] even to this day?" What addition will be made to a student's knowledge regarding the tonsure when he reads two such sentences as these, one of which is largely composed of a quotation from the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*—"From early times the clergy were forbidden to wear long hair, and 'in the latter part of the sixth century the tonsure seems to have become definitely established as a mark of separation between clergy and laity.' The shape of the tonsure varied in different Churches"? How much light is thrown upon the Æthiopic translation of the Bible by a statement for one half of which Dr Cheetham has recourse to the *Dictionary of the Bible*, and the whole of which amounts only to this: "It has been supposed that the ancient Æthiopic version of the Scriptures was made in Abyssinia in the fourth and fifth centuries, 'but from the general character of the version itself this is improbable, and the Abyssinians themselves attribute it to a later period.'"

Dr Cheetham has not given us a work such as will take its place alongside of Green's *Short History of the English People*, with its phenomenal combination of qualities, its marvellous power, pathos, and poetry. But, then, it is given to few to produce such a matchless little book as that which came from the Englishman, whose body rests in the Campo Santo at Mentone. In its way, however, this condensed history of the first six centuries of Church life and

growth may be useful to students at the English Universities before they specialise their studies. Viewed in that light it may be pronounced to be a good academic history of orthodox Anglican type, which any student will find it useful to read and safe to follow.

C. G. M'CRIE.

**Philosophical Remains of George Croom Robertson.
With a Memoir.**

Edited by Alexander Bain, LL.D., and T. Whittaker, B.A. (Oxon.),
1894. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo,
pp. xxiv. 481. Price, 9s. net.

PHILOSOPHY lost much when Professor Croom Robertson died. She lost an impressive personality, and a man of eager, earnest nature, heartily devoted to her interests, and capable of rendering her exceptionally good service. British philosophy, in particular, suffered a great loss. While essentially progressive in his thought, and open to light from all quarters, Robertson had his own strong convictions moulded on the teaching of the Associationist School, and was ready at all times to do battle for his principles. Nevertheless, he was scrupulously fair to opponents, and appreciative of honest effort to attain truth by whomsoever shown. His character comes best out in his capacity of Editor of *Mind*,—where he discharged the functions of his responsible position in an ideal fashion. There was no mistaking what he himself meant. At the same time, like a genuine searcher, he had the utmost toleration for, and interest in, the opinions of his contributors, and never allowed his own views to prejudice him against men from whom he differed. Thinkers of all schools were welcome to express themselves with the utmost freedom in the pages of *Mind*, provided only they were thinkers, and gave adequate expression to their thoughts.

Robertson was by birth an Aberdonian, and received his early education—both school and college education—in Aberdeen. Even as a boy, he was the subject of that robust intellectual discipline which is characteristic of these northern parts. The Grammar School carried him over the years of early youth, and laid the foundation of Classical knowledge,—especially of the Latin tongue. The taste for Classics was further cultivated and developed by his four years' curriculum in Arts at Marischal College and University. There, too, he received that wider training in Mathematics and in Science which was to tell upon his studies later on. He was fortunate in having Professor Cruickshank as his teacher in Mathematics, Clerk Maxwell as his teacher in Physics, and Professor James Nicol

as his teacher in Natural History. Soon after completing his college course, he was successful in carrying off the first Ferguson Scholarship for Classics and Mental Philosophy,—which enabled him to devote further time to special study, and to complete his Scottish education by attendance on classes at University College, London, and at various of the great universities in Germany. In this way, he came into direct contact with some of the leading teachers in England, and with such men as Trendelenburg, Du Bois Reymond, Dörner, Lotze, abroad.

On emerging from his distinctively student stage, Robertson had the good fortune to be appointed Assistant-Professor of Greek in Aberdeen University, under Professor (now Principal Sir William D.) Geddes. The experience gained in this capacity, as the present writer happens to know, was greatly valued by him; and he spoke of it in later years in terms of warm gratitude.

But though Robertson was a good Classical scholar, his main bent lay towards Philosophy. This was first elicited when he came into immediate contact as a student with Professor Bain,—who was appointed to the Logic Chair of the United University in 1860. His line of life was now definitely fixed, and Philosophy became his chosen study. For two years or so, he worked with Professor Bain,—helping him in the revision of the second edition of *The Senses and the Intellect*, as also in the revision of *The Emotions and the Will*, and in the preparation of the *Rhetoric*. His election to the Chair of Mental Philosophy and Logic in University College, came in December 1866; and, henceforth, his residence was to be in London.

What Robertson was as a teacher his own pupils have amply and touchingly testified,—although not in this volume. We have already seen what he was as an editor. We must now specially consider him as a writer and a thinker.

The materials for this task lie ready to our hand in the volume now before us. But, first, it must be premised that, as an author, Robertson was handicapped from a very early stage in his career. The disease which ultimately cut him off, on the 20th September 1892, made its appearance twelve years before his death. The result was that, though he struggled manfully against it, and showed a noble heroism to the last, he was unable to produce that quantity of philosophical writing which his intellectual ability promised. He had long worked at Hobbes, and made himself thoroughly master of the history of the times in which Hobbes lived, and of all the intricate points that are perpetually cropping up in his writings; and yet the only evidence we have is the little treatise in the Blackwood series. Again, he had been early attracted to the writings of Kant, and he made them the subject of long and

laborious study. But nowhere have we any adequate record of the fulness of his knowledge of the great German thinker, or of his criticisms of the Kantian philosophy. Again, it is a great pity that little more than a review or two in *Mind* (very able ones, no doubt), is all that remains of his cogitations on Leibniz.

But it is useless to complain of these things. Rather let us turn to the work in hand ; expressing the while our gratitude to Professor Bain and Mr Whittaker for bringing together in this handsome octavo volume the cream of Robertson's articles and lectures.

The contents of the book are arranged in four separate groups. Group I. is entitled "Miscellaneous Papers," and consists of five lectures on Philosophy and Psychology, or subjects relating to these two provinces, ranging in date from 1866 to 1877. Five articles, written in 1875 for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, constitute Group II.,—viz., "Analogy," "Analysis," "Analytic Judgments," "Association of Ideas," "Axiom." Group III. is made up of seventeen "Articles, Notes, and Discussions from *Mind*," written between 1876 and 1891 ; while sixteen "Critical Notices from *Mind*" (1877-92) go to form Group IV.

From this bare statement, it will be obvious that the writings cover a vast range of subjects. Logic, Psychology, Ethics, Philosophy—all come under review ; and the amount of historical matter that is here presented is something very great.

Plainly, we cannot, in the limited number of pages at our command, enter into all this. It will be best simply to select one or two points on which Robertson laid special emphasis, and indicate to the reader his position.

One such point had reference to the genesis and origin of knowledge, and another had reference to the theory of knowledge.

The first is admirably dealt with in an article in Group I., reprinted from the *Nineteenth Century*, and headed "How we come by our Knowledge." In summary, he says :—

"On the whole, then, the description I would give of our early progress in knowledge—and the early progress is decisive of our whole *manner* of knowing till the end—is something like this : that we use our incidental, by which I mean our natural subjective, experience mainly to decipher and verify the ready-made scheme of knowledge that is given to us *en bloc* with the words of our mother-tongue. This scheme is the result of the thinking, less or more conscious, and mainly practical, of all the generations of articulately speaking men, passed on with gradual increase from each to each. For the rest, I should be the last to deny, having before asserted, that the part we are intellectually called to play is pre-determined for each of us by a native constitution of mind, which, on one side, assimilates us in way of thinking to all other men of

our race and time, if also, on another side, it marks us off from all other men and contains the deepest ground of what is for each of us our proper self. But I desire to express the opinion that there is no explanation of any mind's knowledge from this position, even when account is taken also of all the modes of natural experience noted by psychologists, unless there is added, over and above, the stupendous influence of social conditions, exercised mainly through language."

That is admirably put, and seems to us exactly to express the true psychological position,—emphasizing (what is usually slurred over) social conditions and the influence of human speech.

In like manner, Robertson was very clear on the right mode of handling the Theory of Knowledge. This is given in the famous article of Group III., entitled "Psychology and Philosophy." He insists strongly on separating Psychology from Epistemology, and comes forward as the reconciler of contending schools by his luminous presentation of the end and functions of Philosophy. What is here said attracted much attention at the time it was written, and it is full of interest still. So long as the provinces of mental science are not strictly differentiated, so long will there be contest and confusion.

Again, Robertson's robust advocacy of the doctrine of the Muscular Sense here finds frequent expression. We meet it in the brilliant lecture on "The Senses," in Group I.; but we discover it often in other parts of his writings. In particular, we see it in the eagerness with which he welcomed Münsterberg's investigations, and the care with which he set himself to expound them to English readers. The articles on Münsterberg, in Group III., are worthy of the closest attention.

Two other points may be noted. Robertson was one of the first to hail with delight the recently-aroused interest in Psycho-physics, and readily opened the pages of *Mind* to the record of experiments scientifically made for the purpose of gauging the quantity and determining the character of psychical facts. We rather suspect that he was disappointed with the results of these experiments; but the workers and their object had his hearty approval.

So, too, he expected much from the careful and scientific study of Pathology. *Mind* bears ample testimony to that. Yet, he was very cautious and measured in his judgments,—as will be seen, for instance, in his critical notice of Dr Maudsley's *Physiology of Mind*, in Group IV.

Of the vast mass of historical matter and of the wealth of illustration that this volume contains, we can here give little idea. Ancient and modern systems of Philosophy alike come kaleidoscopically before us, and we are impressed at every point with the writer's encyclopædic knowledge. No one can read the *Remains*

without feeling the truth of what Professor Bain says, in his most interesting Memoir prefixed to the volume,—“A few more years of active vigour would have enabled him to leave a monument of the history of philosophy second to none.”

WILLIAM L. DAVIDSON.

Darwin and Hegel; with other Philosophical Studies.

By David G. Ritchie, M.A. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 8vo, pp. xv. 285. Price, 7s. 6d.

THOSE who are accustomed to read with interest whatever appears above the name of Mr D. G. Ritchie, will be glad to have in this more permanent form a number of papers with which they may have already made acquaintance elsewhere. Mr Ritchie's work is much too good to be buried in forgotten piles of magazine literature; and though written at various times, and embracing a great variety of topics, these essays are sufficiently pervaded by a common purpose to be fittingly preserved in a single volume.

Two are on philosophical themes of a technical kind. Of the first of these, a discussion of the *Phaedo*, it may be enough to say that it is in Mr Ritchie's usual careful style, lucid and suggestive, and pleasantly lit up with modern instances. The other, dealing with the vexed question, “What is Reality?” is of more importance. It will be remembered what a flutter was caused in the rising Neo-Hegelian (or Neo-Kantian) school in our country a few years ago by the sudden appearance in their midst of the Balfour Lecturer as a critic of certain of their most cherished doctrines, and in particular of the ambiguities that are apt to gather round the all-important matter of the relation asserted between the individual and the universal subject on Neo-Hegelian principles. Undoubtedly the tendency of an Absolute Idealism which interprets existence as the unfolding of a thought-process, is to so emphasise the latter at the expense of the former, as to end in what may be called either Pantheism or “Panlogism,” and in which at all events the self-subsistent worth of the individual is ignored. In opposition to this Professor Seth stood stoutly for the position that “the individual alone is the real,” and great was the outcry that thereon ensued. This paper is Mr Ritchie's contribution to the fray, and with much of it only a sensationalist could quarrel. But as a polemical piece it collapses sadly. In the middle of his argument the writer discovers (p. 100) that he is after all in agreement with his antagonist, and, in a footnote, confesses it. Certain modified expressions in Professor Seth's Lectures, as republished, satisfy him

entirely, and he retires from the contest, whether feeling himself victorious over the first edition or baffled by the second it would be hard to say. Unprejudiced readers will judge for themselves whether the modifications which are so significant for Mr Ritchie do signify so much after all. In any case, it is reassuring to find so prominent a representative of the school he belongs to assenting to the position his critic there lays down. To have even one misunderstanding eliminated from philosophical discussion would be something to be thankful for.

Five of the remaining essays deal with questions of a sociological character. Two after an historical manner; the one treating of "Locke's Theory of Property," while the other traces in a very informing way the idea of the Social Contract from the Sophists to Rousseau. Of the rest the most readable perhaps is the discussion on "The Rights of Minorities," a subject to which the writer returns in the essay on "Sovereignty"; and the most weighty, the inquiry into the character of "Economic Laws." The conclusion here reached is, broadly, that economic laws, like other sociological laws, express merely the necessary relation between certain conditions and a corresponding social state. In other words, they are analogous to laws of Nature, and have no properly moral element in them, —although they may furnish the data in view of which the politician and philanthropist will form their ideals and urge their reforms. In this whole region, it should be added, what Mr Ritchie has to say is always specially instructive. Few philosophical writers are rendering a greater service in the way of shedding the light of first principles on the perplexing questions which lie at the foundation of social theory and practice.

It is, however, in the general point of view maintained throughout, and more especially defended and illustrated in the two papers on "Origin and Validity," and "Darwin and Hegel," that the main value of the book will probably be felt to lie. The perennial contention between a spiritual interpretation of existence and any other may be said, in our time, to turn upon the question of the sufficiency of the historical method as the organon of philosophic investigation. Is Mr Leslie Stephen right when he says that "to explain a fact is to give the preceding set of facts out of which it arose"? Do we know all that there is to know—or at least all that is knowable—about anything when we have resolved it into its pre-conditions? Or must we set our faces in the other direction entirely, inquiring mainly not out of what it has arisen, but what it has in it the power to become? Is the nature of anything seen in its last state rather than in its first—the nature of the oak in the full grown tree rather than in the acorn—so that only in the light of the former can it properly be understood at all? The crucial

nature of the question is obvious. Answer it in one way and historical evolution becomes the last word to be uttered in the interpretation of the universe; the time-process of things we know, and beyond that we must be content to be agnostic; answer it otherwise and further conceptions become necessary through which to interpret things, and evolution itself becomes only a means—possibly not an invariable means—by which their inner nature fulfils itself. It is here that Mr Ritchie is at his best. He has no quarrel with the results of scientific analysis; only he insists that in order to be *understood*, these must be viewed in the light of other categories than those of science, that is, of categories which more fully express that spiritual nature in virtue of which alone are they at all attainable. The position is the familiar idealist one, but the illustrations adduced from Ethics, Politics, Æsthetics, Religion itself, are fresh and interesting. Mr Ritchie seems to expect the “hostility” of both parties for his endeavour thus to reconcile these two great interests, but probably he may lay fear aside. The “Hegelian” can have no concern in refusing to acknowledge any results to which the investigation of origins may lead; and as for the “Darwinian,” he must have given up this author long ago.

ALEX. MARTIN.

Aspects of Pessimism.

By R. M. Wenley, M.A., D.Sc. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 8vo, pp. 337. Price, 6s.

READERS of “Socrates and Christ” would expect anything else the author might write to be marked by keen insight, broad sympathies, and a vigorous style. Nor in this, so far as the present work is concerned, will they be disappointed. “Aspects of Pessimism” is a very able book, full of interest and suggestiveness. One of the sentences prefixed to it as a sort of motto is taken from Julia Wedgwood’s “Moral Ideal,” and the book often recalls that remarkably original writer alike in its spirit, its general strain of thought, and its frequent “triumphs of expression.” Nearly every page—particularly, perhaps, in the essays on “Jewish Pessimism,” “Medieval Mysticism,” and “Pessimism as a System,”—contains some “aid to reflection” so tersely or vividly put as to fix itself in the mind. In estimating the book, it has to be remembered that Dr Wenley does not profess to be exhaustive. He has done little else than bring together a number of papers of occasional origin, and two more technical Essays, which “represent preparatory inquiries, not concluding deliverances.” This may explain the omission of all but a passing reference to what most people think of as the supreme

instances of Pessimism—the Indian religions. It may also account for a certain unevenness of treatment which renders some parts more popular and much more easy to read than others. The title, in fact, well describes the contents. We have not a complete study of Pessimism, but views of it sketched or drawn from various standpoints.

The first Essay deals with "Jewish Pessimism," illustrated, of course, mainly by *Kohleth* and the book of *Job*. Dr Wenley differs from those critics—Wellhausen, *e.g.*—who hold that the "inner logic of its creed condemned Judaism to end in Pessimism." *Jahveh* is not in the Old Testament the transcendent unapproachable being such critics assume. On the contrary, He is there presented as immanent in the universe, because "He watches over and controls the sustenance and life of plants and animals, and directs immediately all natural Phenomena." He is, moreover, the immanent originator of all the changes in Jewish history. Even the law, so far from dividing, was felt to be "the mediator between God and man." "God's wisdom, God's reality, conditioned all the circumstances" of Jewish life and thought. Hence Pessimism, in any absolute sense, could not be. When it came, it came through the difficulties connected with the "law of retribution, or with Providence in general." The basis was practical, not speculative. Whilst the belief prevailed—and facts seemed to warrant the belief—that righteousness always met with temporal happiness, and sin always issued in temporal evil, the Jewish temper was serenely Optimistic. Pessimism arose when the belief and the facts were seen to be at variance, when especially the accepted theory was found to be incapable of consistent application to the individual. Portions of the "Wisdom Literature," *Job*, and *Kohleth* mark steps in a process which gradually evolved a sense, if not a sight, of principles deeper in life than the traditional orthodoxy allowed. As to *Job*, he is a proof that Pessimistic feeling could only invade the soul of a pious Jew so long and so far as he lost touch with God. Hope died, not because he doubted God's absolute justice, but because God seemed turned to be his enemy. Hope revived, not because the problem of unmerited suffering was solved, but because God's presence was restored. "The presence of the Lord braces the man, for he learns that human injustice possesses no Divine sanction, while the apparent Divine injustice may assume another aspect when regarded from a higher standpoint." The author of *Ecclesiastes*, writing during one of the sad post-exilian periods in the history of Israel, approaches Pessimism more closely than the poet of *Job*. "Job's hope, leaning on the justice of God, accepts what, for this world, is the old solution, and rests contented." *Kohleth* perceives the impossibility of obtaining any reply beyond the ancient lines,

and is thoroughly conscious of the failure. He has no expectation, and so his Pessimism is not "touched to finer issues." Its source is to be found (1) in the fact of his "absorbing interest in the present life"; (2) in the absence of "a vivifying moral ideal"; (3) in the "individualistic or purely personal standpoint from which he judges everything." Yet, "when we speak of the Pessimism of Koheleth," we must not be understood to imply anything like the modern doctrine. Koheleth was no system-monger. He did not brace himself to account for the wretchedness of things. "He did not try to improve Deity out of existence, neither was it his aim to show that this must be the worst of all possible worlds. It would be truer to say that he gave utterance to the least hopeful, or perhaps, the most forbidding estimate of human life which a Jew, nurtured in the religion of Jahveh, could conceivably formulate." "Like the moderns, with whom he is so often wrongly classed, he sees all existence in the shadow of daily struggle." But "because he was a Jew, he could not be an Atheist like Schopenhauer and Hartmann, or even Omar Khayyam." And in the end his Theism, though "dashed with grey," came to the rescue. For him, as for the Jew generally, "Pessimism is ruled out of court, not because it is non-existent, but because resignation in hope, based on the conception of a *θεός* who cannot at the last oppose his own theocracy, quiets unrestfulness."

"A representative of the slowly-dying ancient world, he yearned for salvation; a Jew, he sought comfort in the ultimate presence of Deity; a man of the old time, he knew not God by wisdom. Yet it was the cry of Koheleth, and of such as Koheleth—it was their search for salvation, and their failure to divine its promise on earth, that prepared the way for the Christian revelation, nay, rendered it an imperative necessity." Such, in barest outline, seems to be the pith of a discussion which, for penetration and cogency, could hardly be surpassed.

Many readers will find the next Essay on "Mediæval Mysticism" the most attractive of all. Dr Wenley writes with a "verve," a fullness of knowledge, and a warmth of sympathy which go to show that here he is at home. His sketch of the historical conditions which occasioned the rise and development of Mysticism; of the leading Mystics, their characteristics and influence, their merits and defects, is at once concise, vivid, and true. Master Eckhart and Thomas à Kempis seem to be special favourites. One is tempted to linger, for almost every page has some sentence worth quoting; but it must suffice to indicate how Dr Wenley traces the connection of Mysticism with his subject. "Mysticism," he says, "may for a little be opposed to Pessimism; it must eventually produce it"; for the Mystics "distinctly taught that the world and life held

nothing worthy, and so they eliminated the one sphere in which man, the ideal-real being, can find the opportunities requisite to salvation. The best satisfaction they could offer to the widespread spiritual want of their age was, on the one hand, a passionate but negative precept to strangle self; on the other, an assurance that when self had disappeared a positive but momentary union with God might be obtained—a union in which sin had no place, because nothing remained whereto it might attach itself. Of this and such as this despair is the inevitable conclusion. For at the close, when man has achieved personal annihilation, the import of ecstasy comes to be nothing beyond the bare term. The initial Realism ends in an abstract Nominalism." . . . "This earth must be the worst of all worlds, because it forms the opaque veil excluding heaven; and heaven is so utterly lost in absence of earth's joys that, though it might well be hell, it must meanwhile continue to be nothing in particular."

Hence it is no wonder that Schopenhauer and Hartmann "claim the mystics as forerunners," or that Schopenhauer characterised Eckhart's teaching in comparison with that of the Gospels, as the "essence of wine to wine." Dr Wenley adds that in this Schopenhauer "extolled the least valuable portion of mysticism for his own purposes."

But when Schopenhauer says, "the will to live" must cease, and the "self" must be allowed to lapse into the universal essence concerning which—though he names it "will"—we are limited to a completely negative knowledge; and when Eckhart speaks of union with the unnameable "God who is above Godhead" as the last goal of all striving, there is surely a perilous likeness between the two. Indeed, mysticism of the speculative type, unrestrained by the historic facts which emphasise the Personal element in God, cannot logically fail to reach what is equivalent to Nothingness. But this is not the only type—as Dr Wenley, if he had been treating of Mysticism in general, and not merely of the mediæval, could of course have made clear. Hamlet—the theme of the next Essay—is taken to illustrate the subjective pessimism which would be certainly evoked if such a man as he were actually so circumstanced as Shakspeare represents.

Dr Wenley cannot see, with the Germans, that Hamlet is "in any full sense the mouthpiece of a Philosophical Theory." Rather is he "a type of those minds that are so crushed by the difficulties which evil places in the way of realising ideals as seldom to be able to rise to an appreciation of the indispensableness of conflict in the course of mental or moral growth." The interpretation is not new, but Dr Wenley works it out impressively, exhibiting no small power of fine psychological analysis.

That there is, according to the title of the next Essay, a "Pessimistic element in Goethe," may be strange to many who figure Goethe to themselves as the genius of cheerful calm. Nor does the author claim that the poet's Pessimism was anything more than a stage of his intellectual progress—an experience he thought out and left behind. He was neither driven by a personal sense of sin or pain to morbid views of the world, nor by the tyranny of a principle to conceive the universe essentially bad. He occupied a middle place between the mystic and the philosopher, and "sought an imaginatively conceived solution of the moral riddle." The optimism into which he finally settled was indeed "no cheap product of a lazy habit of contentment." It was something won. But the struggle out of which it came "found theatre in the realm of thought rather than of character." First there was "the youthful time of revolt, mainly negative, and consequently indefinite in its aspiration." This "saw little more than the setting of a problem." Then, for a space, at Weimar amid the whirl of court society, inner misgiving was stifled. In Italy, too, the poet was so continually externalising himself . . . that the higher moral issue had no immediate interest. Changed circumstances threw him back once more upon himself. Under the influence of Spinoza and a careful study of natural phenomena he perceives the inner unity of the world; and, thus affected, proceeds to attack, almost *ab initio* the obstinate uncertainties embedded in "Werther," "Prometheus," and the first part of "Faust." Finally, in "Meister's Wanderjahre," and especially in the second part of "Faust," he aims at a positive if poetical reply to the life-question in which there always is a pessimistic admixture. This, mostly in Dr Wenley's own words, is a summary statement of the theme which, in masterly fashion, the Essay sustains and illustrates. To the student of Goethe it will be delightful.

What remains, in the chapters on Berkeley, Kant, and Schopenhauer, is an admirable specimen of exact and incisive philosophical exposition and criticism. Written, apparently, at different times, the chapters somewhat overlap, and there is a certain amount of repetition. But the defect, if defect it be, is a gain in clearness; and so welcome. Dr Wenley, it is pleasant to see, does full justice to the position and influence and abiding work of Berkeley. He is, indeed, in his union of idealism with the "cautious and critical spirit" which seeks to take account of all the facts, a wholesome corrective to the current craving for systematic completeness of view at any price. But what has he to do with Pessimism? Nothing of course personally, nor did his thinking ever look that way. He did, however, after a sort, lead up to Kant and Schopenhauer. In his earlier writings he aimed chiefly at exploding the regnant doctrine of abstract ideas; and, in particular, at dismissing "that meta-

physical Brocken spectre, the Unknowable"—as represented by so-called material substance. Hume, carrying out this purely negative work of Berkeley, developed an absolute scepticism. But Berkeley, in the "*Siris*," went on to what may be named a dualistic idealism. On the one hand, he discusses the "ultimate unity of the universe in Reason, in a supreme moral or spiritual agent who is manifested in the natural world—immanent in, yet transcending, all so-called physical causes." On the other hand, while asserting that "all men share with Deity" in a common reason, he retains man's distinct personality, and makes no attempt to elucidate the "connection between human spirits and the Divine Being." Here Kant steps in. "Where Berkeley had left an unbridged gap—a dualism between finite minds and the Infinite mind—Kant attempted to construct a unity from the side of the finite, and furnished only with its scant resources." Schopenhauer was also an Idealist. But he had no sympathy with dualism. Recognising the identity of the essential principle underlying the individual with the essential principle of the universe, he sacrificed the former to the latter. Personality was simply a phenomenon. And hence it may be seen, as Dr Wenley says, that "the present value of Berkeley's philosophy, taken as a whole, is that it supplies a practical exposure of the fallacy, minted for contemporary currency by Pessimism, that things and principles are identical—have no individual persistence of their own—because they happen to be related to one another." The relation of Schopenhauer to Kant is complex, and the threads of the connection are subtly and lucidly laid bare by Dr Wenley. Most of these there is no need to notice. The main point is, how Kant influenced Schopenhauer in the shaping of his central doctrine. And this a sentence or two can make clear. According to Kant "man never knows realities, but only phenomena; yet realities exist." There is a reality of the object; there is, too, a reality of the subject. On the side of the object, there is a "thing-in-itself" beyond the phenomena of sense. On the side of the subject, there is a "thing-in-itself" behind the phenomena of thought. For just because the "ego transcends change, it is above experience." "The definite acts of imagination, perception, and the like" are all cognisable. "Their indispensable condition"—the ego—"remains ever hidden." Schopenhauer's task was to find what would resolve these "Kantian inexplicables." Accepting, then, from Kant his account of the categories, he points out first, that "causality" is subjective like the rest. Next, he satisfies himself that the *rest* are derivatives from "causality" alone, and argues that all seemingly external objects are "simply representations"—*Vorstellungen*—"constituted by the mind." The key to all reality, therefore, is to be discovered within. But what is "cause"? Something must belong to it as

its essential root. What is that? Schopenhauer finds it in the "continuous energising, unwearyed effort to assert oneself," which is named Will. "The thinker is not a mere machine for finding out phenomenal representations; he is far rather a subject who wills. Will, the persistent and impelling power in all acts, is thus the ego beyond experience with which Kant failed to grapple. The fact that I exist is consequent to the fact that I will. I am I, because I will. So the unknowable 'I' of Kant is abolished." Everything, then, in the last resort is "an objectification of will"—from a stone to a mind. But this primal Will is blind. Somehow, by a strange contradiction, it is supposed to be *directed* at every stage of its manifestation by a kind of Platonic idea—i.e., the only real thing is supposed to be continuously under the sway of another real thing. In itself, however, it is "an impersonal and unconscious force." "Its one positive characteristic is that it is pregnant with indefinable desire." "It is fraught with pain and every species of imperfection, because in its ceaseless and frantic effort to find expression it is ever baffled." Consequently, all life is a misery. In man the general misery comes to a climax, because focussed in his consciousness. His crime—an unpardonable crime—is in being born. His virtue lies in striving "to divest himself of his own self-hood, and to be received back again into the unconscious reality of Will, where nothing is distinguishable." The counsel of Job's wife—"Curse God and die"—was sound. "Curse God"—who is so framed that he must have your existence, and this without taking one iota of responsibility for its inevitable evil. "Curse God"—who can do nothing to redeem you from the sin into which his efforts have forced you. "Die"—because death, being the negation of individuality, is the one goal of life. "Die"—for death alone can in any measure redeem you from the evil which is the very essence of your present existence. Quietism, or the state in which "the will to live" has become utterly indifferent, is the acme of morality. The absolute selfishness of self-annihilation is the regenerating grace which overcomes the relative selfishness of living.

There is no need to say that, though Kant gave Schopenhauer his philosophic starting-point, the process by which he reached this cheerful conclusion was due to other influences, and first among which, probably, should be placed his own temperament and circumstances. As to Hartmann, whose Pessimism is more systematic even than Schopenhauer's, only a sentence or two can be added. Dr Wenley truly says that it is fairer to consider Hartmann Schopenhauer's descendant than his disciple. "So far from being his disciple, he rather stands related to him as did Hegel to Kant. Indeed, the gulf between the two leading Pessimists is

wider than between the two great idealists." Three points of divergence are specially notable—(a) Hartmann's "Unconscious" first principle holds within itself Intellect as well as Will. Intellect is there to furnish Will with its "notional or ideal content." For he agrees with Aristotle, that there "is no volition without mental object"; (b) Hartmann is not like Schopenhauer, a subjective idealist. Under the influence of modern science he has been led to a form of "ideal realism" which enables him, however illogically, to assign a worth of their own to phenomena; (c) "this new doctrine respecting the world's reality" resulted in a theory of "man and his dwelling-place" altogether different from Schopenhauer's. So far from considering this sphere the worst possible, Hartmann declares that for all its misery it is the best that could be. Wretchedness truly is inevitable; but, as if to compensate, the plan for its removal can be put into execution only here and now. The extinction of pain is the sole reason for the being of this cursed globe and its thrice-cursed inhabitants. As a consequence, Schopenhauer's quietism becomes an absurdity. . . . As Hartmann himself says, "Real existence is the incarnation of deity; the world-process is the passion-history of God made flesh, and at the same time the way to the redemption of him who was crucified in the flesh. To be moral is to lend a helping hand in shortening the way of suffering and redemption." How vulnerable such a system is almost anyone can see, and Dr Wenley has no difficulty in exposing its weaknesses, while not denying that it presents some claims on our respect and even admiration. But this and much more must be passed by. Two closing remarks, however, may find place. (1) If, as not a few facts seem to indicate, pessimism, as a mood or as a philosophy, is spreading, especially among the educated, one could hardly wish for them anything better than to study this book. Perhaps no book can be expected to cure a *mood*, but at least it may show that the mood, so far as it appeals for encouragement to philosophy, is unreasonable. And this the present work is well fitted to do. (2) Let the following be quoted in evidence of Dr Wenley's own attitude:—

"While the consecrated life of Christ cannot, and was never meant to reverse 'laws of nature,' it nevertheless incarnates that kind of career in devotion to which man takes doubt and sin, difficulty and evil, as incidents in a more or less successful attempt to become what Jesus altogether was." "The modern man must needs fight under the ægis of the Holy One of the Jews. He so battles with certainty of ultimate success, in the name of Jesus alone." "Life is capable of cheating only those who, in the deepest sense, have never been alive." What could be truer, or better said?

FRED. J. POWICKE.

Les Origines Historiques de la Theologie De Ritschl.

Par Henri Schoen, Licencié en Théologie. Paris : Libraire Fischbacher. 8vo, pp. 155. Price, 3s.

THIS little work of H. Schoen's is perhaps the most serviceable yet published for giving anyone who desires an introduction to the theology of Ritschl in brief compass an insight into the main positions of the Göttingen theologian, as well as into the historical genesis of the ideas of his system. The author rightly emphasises in his introduction the preponderating influence which this new theology has exercised within the last decade on the development of religious thought in Germany, and finds the secret of its influence in the fact that Ritschl has succeeded in interpreting the latest aspirations of the age, and in giving expression "at the favourable moment" to all that was murmuring in the air around him. "To those discouraged by the assaults of criticism, he affirms that faith and salvation are independent of the results of our historic researches. To theologians wearied with dogmatic disputes, he presents a Christianity disengaged from all foreign metaphysics. To the learned trembling at the sight of theology succumbing under the attacks of the positive sciences, he points out a way in which all collision with the natural sciences becomes impossible. To students with a passion for history, he unveils the development of the primitive Church. To timid Christians he says, 'God was never angry with you; he announces to you that you can return to him.' To *blasé* pessimists he exclaims, 'Work for the advancement of the Kingdom of God; doctrine without the Christian life is nothing.' To ardent youth he shows the means of acting on the men of our time. In an age eager for liberty and equality, he founds a 'social theology' in which the individual disappears in the mass. . . . His theology is far from being the fruit of a spontaneous generation without relation to previous systems. It appears to us, on the contrary, as the result of a long preparation, as an important link in the evolution of religious thought in Germany" (pp. 8, 9). It is from this point of view that M. Schoen enters on his investigation of the historical origins of the Ritschlian system. He begins with Ritschl's "theory of knowledge," tracing it back to its roots in Kant and Lotze, and showing its developments in Ritschl's own writings. "One sees," he remarks, "that the synthesis between the elements borrowed from Kant and those which come from the metaphysic of Lotze remains imperfect. A double current traverses all the theology of Ritschl; on one side, the Kantian idea that the thing in itself is incognisable by us, and a tendency to draw from this thesis the same affirmations as Fichte; on the other, the desire of maintaining, with Lotze, the objective reality of the

'real' things" (p. 35). The "theological method" of Ritschl, and his view of the "sources of theology" are treated with thoroughness and interest in the same historical fashion. The aim of the theology is thus described—"To drive metaphysics and natural religion out of the proper domain of dogmatics, to proclaim that the faith of the Christian is independent of the variable and accidental results of philosophy, of historical criticism, and of the natural sciences, to make religion rest solely on Divine revelation, such is in its entirety the programme of the new school" (p. 36). The special ideas of the system of Ritschl are next taken up in detail—his ideas of God, of the historic person of Jesus, of the Kingdom of God, of the kingdom of sin, of justification and reconciliation, and are treated with great skill, care, and fulness of historical knowledge. Not only the general conceptions of the new theology, but every particular filament in these conceptions is traced back to its appropriate origin, and followed down its historical course, till it finds itself interwoven in an original synthesis with the other ideas of Ritschl's system. Nothing seems to have escaped the sharp eye of the author (unless it be Stählin's work, *Kant, Lotze, and Ritschl*, to which, though handling the same topics, he curiously never refers), and his expositions are set forth with customary French lucidity. The last few pages are occupied with summing up results, and stating a few criticisms, most of which seem well justified by what precedes.

JAMES ORR.

Notices.

THE seventh section of the *Grundriss der theologischen Wissenschaften* is to hand. It contains an *Einleitung in das neue Testament*¹ by Professor Adolf Jülicher of Marburg. In this we have first brief statements on the idea, place, and literature of this particular branch of study. The history of the several books which make up our New Testament is then taken up, the Pauline Epistles forming the starting-point of the inquiry. To this are added sections on the History of the New Testament Canon and the History of the New Testament Text. The book suffers at certain points from the necessity of comprising three subjects, each of wide extent and great complexity, within the limits of a single volume of moderate size. The notices of the literature of the different topics, for instance, are meagre throughout. The Textual Criticism is given so briefly and fragmentarily that it might almost as well have been dispensed with. A very imperfect use, too, is made of the works of English scholars. On the other hand, the volume is well written; it gives a careful and reliable digest of

¹ Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. 8vo, pp. xiv. 404. Price, M. 6.

facts; its conclusions are very lucidly reasoned out; and its method is good. One of the best things in it is the concise account and careful criticism of the Tübingen school. What it has to say on the hypercriticism represented by Steck, Pierson, Loman, and others, is well said. It is interesting to observe that Professor Jülicher reckons 1 and 2 Thessalonians, Philippians, Philemon, and Colossians among the genuine Pauline Epistles. In the case of the Epistle to the Ephesians he concludes against its being a letter addressed originally to the Ephesian Church, but holds that on the whole it may be accepted as Pauline, not indeed with assurance, but at least with the feeling that the opposite supposition has greater difficulties. The Petrine authorship of 1 Peter is controverted by a line of argument which so overshoots the mark as to leave the traditional view little to appeal to beyond the insertion of the name *Peter* in the inscription. A good *resumé* is provided of the course which opinion and argument have run on the Synoptic problem. With respect to the Fourth Gospel Professor Jülicher makes a complete break with the traditional view, holding that we can say nothing about the writer or his residence, and that the writing itself must be understood as a philosophical composition with a religious tendency which comes from the third generation of Christians. There is much to provoke dissent in the book. It is written, however, with great ability from the author's standpoint, and has many of the qualities which are of greatest service for the purpose of an Introduction.

With the third edition of his well-known *Introduction to the Study of the New Testament*,¹ Dr Samuel Davidson takes his leave of the public. A peculiar interest belongs to a book which comes to us as the final effort of a veteran, and has been prepared for the press "amid the increasing infirmities of age and with failing sight." The book, too, has a value which we cordially recognise. It is a great repertory of facts and opinions, which it is always convenient to have beside one. It gives a fair representation and a strong defence of the main positions of the older Tübingen school on the literary history of the New Testament writings. It contains many criticisms both of generally accepted views and of the speculations of scholars, which are both cogent and pungent. And there is a consistency about it which is in its own way impressive. For the venerable author has altered his position but little since he made the great change from the first edition to the second. But with all that can be said in this way, there is much to say on the other side. The warmest of Dr Davidson's admirers will scarcely affirm that the book has ever fairly come up to its profession to be

¹ London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. xvi. 563 and 599. Price, 30s.

an Introduction at once critical, exegetical, and theological. Neither will it be easy to defend the general attitude of the book. It is an attitude of scorn for everything that does not fit the Tübingen criticism—a scorn that turns the back on much that is of real value, and deliberately ignores it because it proceeds from orthodox pens. That was one of the great defects of the second edition, and it is one of the great defects of the third. In the Preface Dr Davidson sneers at the work of Dr Salmon of Dublin, and frankly tells us that he has not even consulted other books advocating traditional views, because he thinks them unimportant or polemical against himself. The determination to look only at one side is not the way to reach the truth. So it happens that Dr Davidson seems to have learned little from all that has been written since he published his second edition. At times, indeed, he exhibits a laudable independence of Baur. He gives up Baur's criticism in the case of First Thessalonians, for example, and in those of Philippians and Philemon. But there are things he adheres to where it has been most severely shaken, and where other members of the school have withdrawn from it. This is especially the case with the Fourth Gospel, which he still places at about 150 A.D. Lengthened as is his discussion of the historical evidence available for this Gospel, it is certainly very far from being up to date. The same must be said of other parts of these volumes. The new aspect, for instance, which has been given by Professor Ramsay and others to the question of the *Galatia* of the Acts and Epistles, and to the date and authenticity of First Peter, receives no consideration.

*Christian Doctrine and Morals viewed in their Connection*¹ is the title of the Twenty-fourth Fernley Lecture, now published. The Lecturer, Professor George G. Findlay of Headingley College, has had a congenial subject, and he does it justice. His book is a most timely one, a book with a high purpose, a healthy, bracing book, written with the force of strong conviction. Professor Findlay begins with a statement of the seriousness of the present moral condition. He shows the gravity of the change which has taken place since Dr Dale delivered his discourse on *The Evangelical Revival* and Dr Wace wrote his *Christianity and Morality*. What we are face to face with is no longer an attack on Christian doctrine under the idea that Christian morality will remain, or with a view to secure the acceptance of that morality. It is an open and deliberate attempt to discredit the Christian morality itself, and reinstate the morality of the old Greek and Roman world. In presence of the advance of anti-Christian thought, and the assault which is headed by men like Belfort

¹ London : Wesleyan Methodist Book Room. 8vo, pp. xvi. 280. Price, 2s. in Paper Covers ; 3s. Cloth.

Bax, Karl Pearson, and Grant Allen, Professor Findlay holds it all-important that the connection between Christian doctrine and Christian morality be understood. He takes up, therefore, the Christian doctrines of the Fatherhood of God, the filial character, the incarnation, the indwelling and gifts of the Spirit, the sin of the world, the expiation of the Cross, Resurrection, Judgment, and Eternal Life, and shows how each of these is ethical in its character, and carries with it ethical results and an ethical inspiration. The statements both of the doctrines (signally so in that of Christ's expiation), and of the moral principles, are excellent in themselves and in their adaptation to the purposes of the lecture. Among other admirable estimates of the writings of other authors we notice with pleasure the cordial commendation of Mr Kidd's *Social Evolution*.

Professor Hermann Strack of Berlin issues a new edition of his *Einleitung in den Thalmud*,¹ into which he has worked certain improvements. Few men have the qualifications of Professor Strack for work of this kind, and we rejoice that the book has received the recognition which is implied in the demand for a second edition. It is a scholarly, compendious, and most useful introduction.

Professor Swete publishes a timely volume on *The Apostles' Creed; its Relation to Primitive Christianity*.² His purpose is to "enable educated members of the English Church who do not possess the leisure or the opportunities necessary for a fuller study of the subject to form some judgment upon a recent controversy which ultimately concerns all who have been baptised into the faith of the Apostles' Creed." He has done this, and much more. Beginning with some statements regarding the attitude of the English Reformers towards this creed, the effects of the modern critical method on current estimates of it, and the importance of the issues raised, he takes up the clauses of the *Apostolicum* one by one, gives their history, and explains their original intention. In doing this, he pays special regard to Professor Harnack's recent declarations, and subjects them to a careful criticism which demands attention. On the great question of the Sonship of Christ, for example, Harnack's contention is that in early Christian thought the pre-existence of Christ was not connected with a Divine Sonship, that originally there were two distinct Christologies, one pneumatic and another adoptionist, and that it is not till Hermas that the two are seen to have become one. This whole position is traversed by Professor Swete, and the adequacy of the evidence for it is challenged. The German Professor again asserts

¹ Leipzig: Hinrichs. 8vo, pp. viii. 135. Price, M. 2.50.

² London: C. J. Clay & Sons. Cr. 8vo, pp. 110. Price, 3s.

that the Apostles' Creed deviates from the primitive tradition in the place which it gives to the Ascension. His English critic examines, point by point, the arguments which are given in support of this, and shows how little there really is to warrant the statement that the Ascension formed no part of the oldest Christian teaching. The running criticism of Professor Harnack's various positions is the most interesting part of the book, and will be felt to carry weight at more than one point. In an Appendix we get a useful collection of forms of the Baptismal Creed, both Western and Eastern.

Canon Tristram's *Eastern Customs in Bible Lands*¹ is a delightful book to read, and one, it needs scarce be said, of intrinsic value. His *Land of Israel*, *Land of Moab*, and other well-known writings, have been a great help to all who wish to understand the regions and the customs amid which the Biblical narrative moves. This book will be among the most popular of the veteran traveller's contributions to our knowledge of the Holy Land. It illustrates the way of journeying in the East, the dwellings, feasts, and life of the East, its pastoral and agricultural habits, its marriage and burial customs, its costumes, its military system, its social fashions, its jurisprudence, its trade, taxes, money, &c. It takes up the simplest and most every-day incidents, explains and describes them so that they stand out unmistakeable to the reader, and through these makes many a Scripture page spell itself out with a new force. We owe much to Canon Tristram, and not least for this last and most instructive book on the East.

In the Apostolic Age, by Robert A. Watson, M.A., D.D., forms one of the *Books for Bible Students*,² edited by the Rev. Arthur E. Gregory. Its object is to trace the development of Christianity during the Apostolic period, embracing the progress of doctrine and the history of institutions as well as the outstanding events, the disorders and heresies, and the rise of the literature. It is a large task, and the field is vast. But Dr Watson has succeeded in a very marked degree in his object. He has caught the most essential points in the development, has set these vividly before the reader, and has excluded most irrelevancies, however tempting. There are things in his book which seem to us too easy readings of great problems. But the general view of the history is in accordance with the best results of recent scholarship. The places of Paul and John in the development, the history of the Gospels in the Church, the relations of Law and Gospel, and similar questions are handled with skill. All is given in a telling style.

¹ London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. 262. Price, 5s.

² London: Charles H. Kelly. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 270. Price, 2s. 6d.

To the "Life Indeed" Series, Professor R. Waddy Moss contributes a volume on *The Discipline of the Soul*.¹ It consists of fourteen discourses on the Aims and Methods of that discipline, dealing to some extent with doctrinal and more largely with practical subjects. The sermons, written in a vigorous and unaffected style, make a profitable and very readable volume. They contain much strong and reverent thinking. Some of them deal with topics of great difficulty, the relation of the will to character and destiny, human responsibility, and divine grace, and others akin to these. Such questions are handled with discretion and insight, and with a forcible statement of their practical bearings.

We have the pleasure of receiving four parts of *Studia Sinaitica*, another important series to be issued by the Cambridge University Press. No. I. contains a *Catalogue of the Syriac MSS. in the Convent of S. Catharine on Mount Sinai*.² We owe it to Mrs Agnes Smith Lewis, to whose enterprise, scholarship, and liberality, together with those of her sister, Mrs Margaret Dunlop Gibson, we are indebted for other important additions recently made to our knowledge. A visit paid by these two ladies to the convent in the beginning of 1892 resulted in the notable discovery of the palimpsest containing the Gospels in old Syriac. Another visit a year later was rewarded by a permit to examine, under certain conditions, all the Syriac and Arabic books in the convent. The time at Mrs Lewis's disposal was too short for so heavy a task as the compilation of a complete list. But with the help of Professor Rendel Harris she succeeded in coming near that, and this handsome volume, beautifully printed, and enriched with illustrative plates, is a monument of useful and well-directed work. No. II. comes from the hand of Mrs Gibson. It contains an *Arabic Version of the Epistles of St Paul to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, with part of the Epistle to the Ephesians, from a Ninth Century MS.*³ The Arabic text, which is most carefully printed, is preceded by an Introduction giving an account of the discovery of the MS., and a series of brief Notes on particular readings and renderings. These Notes call attention to some interesting things. In Romans v. 20, for example, the translator is found to have read *ou* for *ou*; in viii. 20, he has punctuated after *ἐπ' ἐλπίδι* instead of before it. Mrs Gibson takes the MS. itself to have been not an original translation but a copy from an older one. No. III. contains a *Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the Convent of S. Catharine on Mount Sinai*.⁴

¹ London: Charles H. Kelly. Cr. 8vo, pp. 234. Price, 3s. 6d.

² London: C. J. Clay & Sons. 4to, pp. x. 131. Price, 10s. 6d. net.

³ 4to. Price, 5s. net.

⁴ 4to, pp. 138. Price, 6s. net.

It is also the work of Mrs Gibson, who has done all that the assiduity of an expert could do in the short period of forty days in making a complete list, and in indicating the contents of the several volumes. No. IV. gives a *Syriac Version* of Plutarch's Tract *De capienda ex inimicis utilitate*.¹ It is enough to say that Eberhard Nestle is the editor. His careful transcription is accompanied by a translation and critical notes. Scholars will look with eager interest for the continuation of a series which is so admirably inaugurated by these four parts.

We already owe to Mr T. H. Bindley a scholarly edition of Tertullian's *Apologeticus*,² which was published by the Delegates of the Clarendon Press in 1889, and has been found very useful. It is now followed by a similar edition of the same Father's *De Praescriptione Haereticorum*, together with the two addresses, *Ad Martyras* and *Ad Scapulam*.³ In an appendix is also given the *Adversus Omnes Haereses*, which is supposed to be an abridged Latin translation of the *Σύνταγμα* of Hippolytus. The book is an excellent piece of work. The authorities for the text are carefully given. An Analysis and a Synopsis are prefixed. The footnotes are concise and helpful, particular attention being paid to the explanation and illustration of the great African's Latinity. The Introductions are concise, but give all that is really needful for the purpose of such an edition. The volume will make an admirable class-book.

We have yet another issue of Weizsäcker's much appreciated translation of the New Testament.⁴ In this edition considerable improvements have been introduced. Besides the correction of some printer's errors, the rendering itself has been altered, as the translator believes, for the better, in eighty-eight places.

All interested in one of the most remarkable figures in the religion of the day will be indebted to Mr Elliot Stock for an excellent and extremely cheap translation of Count Tolstoi's account of his early days.⁵

¹ 4to. Price, 2s. net.

² "Quinti Septimii Florentis Tertulliani Apologeticus adversus Gentes pro Christianis." Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by T. Herbert Bindley, M.A., Merton College, Oxford. Clarendon Press. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxx. 172. Price, 6s.

³ Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by T. Herbert Bindley, B.D., Merton College, Oxford, Principal of Codrington College, Barbados. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 8vo, pp. vi. 177. Price, 7s. 6d.

⁴ Das neue Testament übersetzt von Carl Weizsäcker, D.Th. Sechste und siebente verbesserte Auflage. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Small 8vo, pp. vi. 471. Price, 3s. 6d.

⁵ Tolstoi's Boyhood. Written by himself. Translated by Constantine Popoff. London. Crown 8vo, pp. viii. 480. Price, 1s.

The author of former volumes of *Practical Reflections* on certain books of Scripture issues another on the same plan on *Isaiah*.¹ The remarks will be found useful for devotional reading. The Bishop of Lincoln writes a Commendatory Preface, as the late Canon Liddon did for previous volumes.

M. Roger Hollard writes a brief but lively and attractive essay on *Some Aspects of the relation between Religion and Morals in Christianity*.²

In *A Lie never justifiable*,³ Mr H. Clay Trumbull brings together a surprising amount of pertinent and interesting matter on a question of practical duty which has many applications. The ideas of the leading peoples of antiquity on the question of *lying* and *deception* are noticed; the Bible standard is explained; definitions are examined; the plea of "necessity" is considered; a survey is made of "centuries of discussion" on the subject; and a statement is given of the evils, personal and social, which inevitably flow from the admission that lying can in any case be allowable. The book is an acute and most readable study in ethics.

The old subject of the Ossianic poems is treated with great freshness and ability by Mr Bailey Saunders in his *The Life and Letters of James Macpherson*.⁴ These poems are of interest for their religious conceptions as well as for other things. In connection with a biography of Macpherson himself, the controversy which so long agitated the literary circles of England and Scotland is reviewed here with care and moderation. Mr Saunders recalls the case of Lönnrot and the *Kalevala*, and that of Snorro-Sturleson and the *Edda*. In these, as well as in the *Nibelungenlied*, he finds analogies to Macpherson and his Ossian. In each there is the case of a number of Epic Songs preserved by tradition from a remote antiquity, and ultimately fused into a definite whole by the hand of a collector and editor in a way not necessarily implying anything spurious or wrong. Mr Saunders points out in particular how close is the parallel between the Ossianic poems as we have them from Macpherson and the *Nibelungenlied* as it came to us from the close of the twelfth century. "The matter of both," he says, "is a mixture of myth and of history, and both are based on songs and ballads of uncertain date and origin. In the one and in the other a fresh and alien element is superinduced; in the *Nibelungenlied* the ideas of the age of chivalry refine the gods and heroes of an early

¹ *Practical Reflections on every Verse of the Prophet Isaiah*. London: Longmans. Crown 8vo, pp. xxii. 281. Price, 4s. 6d.

² *Foi et Devoir*. Paris: Fischbacher. Small 8vo, pp. ix. 122.

³ Philadelphia: Wattles & Co. 12mo, pp. xii. 237. Price, \$1.

⁴ London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Crown 8vo, pp. xi. 323. Price, 7s. 6d.

mythology ; in the Ossianic poems, a literary elegance obscures what was rough and harsh in the old Celtic legends. In either it cannot be determined how much was drawn from ancient lore, and how much was added by the collector ; but there seems to be as good a case for the authenticity of the Ossianic Poems as for that of the *Edda* or the *Nibelungenlied* ; and with the old writers who gave these works to the world Macpherson is fairly entitled to rank." The book contains much that will interest and repay the reader, both as regards Macpherson himself and as regards those singular poems, which, though now so little considered, once appealed, as the writer remarks, "to the feelings of all the cultured classes in Europe, and excited the enthusiasm even of a Goethe, a Byron, and a Napoleon."

Three parts of H. Holtzmann's *Theologischer Jahresbericht*¹ come to hand. One completes the record of literature for 1892, the others give the chronicle of the leading publications in Exegetical and Historical Theology for 1893. Aided by a large number of *collaborateurs*, each interested in some special department, the editor produces, from year to year, an invaluable register of Theological literature. Naturally, it is most exhaustive in its report of German works, but it is wonderfully full even in its list of English and American books. It cannot fail to be appreciated wherever it is used.

Professor T. K. Abbott's *A Reply to Mr Supple's and other Criticisms* having gone into a second edition, he publishes now, in separate form, a *Preface*² to that edition. The point at issue is the sense of the "Do this," in the words of institution, "Do this in remembrance of Me." In this *Preface* the Dublin Professor answers objections which have been taken to certain historical and exegetical statements made in his argument.

*Church Work and its Means and Methods*³ is a series of Addresses by the Bishop of Manchester to his clergy. Their object is practical. They contain pertinent and sensible counsels on such matters as the use of the Lord's Day, the methods of Preaching and Catechising, the Lord's Supper, the Sunday School, Recreation. A few of them go beyond that, and give some good thoughts on the ideas of the Church and the World, and the Development of Doctrine.

¹ Zwölfter Band, enthaltend die Literatur des Jahres 1892. Vierte Abtheilung : Practische Theologie und Kirchliche Kunst. Bearbeitet von Ehlers, Woltendorf, Kind, Dreyer, Hasenclever und Spitta. Braunschweig : Schwetschke und Sohn. 8vo, pp. vi. 453-649. Price, M. 6.—Dreizehnter Band, enthaltend die Literatur des Jahres 1893. Erste Abtheilung : Exegese bearbeitet von Siegfried und Holtzmann. Pp. 148. Price, M. 5.—Zweite Abtheilung : Historische Theologie bearbeitet von Lüdemann, Krüger, &c. Pp. 149-392. Price, M. 7.

² London : Longmans. 8vo, pp. xxviii. Price 3d.

³ London : Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 231. Price 3s. net.

The most recent addition to the *Guild Text-Books* is Professor Henry Cowan's *Landmarks of Church History*.¹ The volume is written on the plan of selecting "outstanding events, movements, and personages," and grouping the most important facts round these. Both the selection and the grouping are done with skill. The period covered extends all the way from the Apostolic Age to the death of Calvin. To comprise within the narrow limits of a book like this the most essential facts in the history of the Church through all these centuries, is a task of no ordinary difficulty. Dr Cowan has succeeded in avoiding all that confuses, and in giving a clear, sharp, and very readable sketch. His is one of the best volumes in the series.

Molinari's treatise on *Religion*² is a book well worth reading, with much vigorous thinking on the past of the Christian religion, its relations to morality, science, and the social crisis, the conditions of its progress, the future to which it has to adapt itself, the good to come by the separation of Church from State, and the obstacles in the way of that event. It is a plea also, as its writer states, "in favour of the independence and liberty of creeds." The value of the book lies largely in the fact that these and other problems of our time are looked at from another point of view than that to which most English people are accustomed. The translator might have spared some crude and one-sided statements he makes in his Introduction. He has done his work, however, well.

An edition of the *Acta S.S. Nerei et Achillei*³ is contributed to Gebhardt and Harnack's series by Dr Hans Achelis of Göttingen. The Greek text, recovered in the Vatican Library by Albrecht Wirth, is carefully reproduced. The main questions regarding the sources and historical worth of this curious writing are considered at length, and a good statement is given of what it contributes to the knowledge of the Roman Catacombs and Martyrology. The *Geschichte des Dominus Mâri eines Apostels des Orients*⁴ is translated from the Syriac by Richard Raabe. The interest of the writing lies largely in the fact that this Mâri is one of the two Apostles or Missionaries, to whom the Assyrian Church is supposed to owe its origin. The writing, which was edited in Syriac only some nine years ago, is full of signs and wonders, and requires a more critical investigation than it has yet received. A much larger volume, and

¹ London: Adam & Charles Black. Pp. ix. 154. Price, 6d. net.

² Religion, by G. de Molinari. Translated for the Second (enlarged) Edition with the Author's sanction, by Walter K. Firminger, B.A., Merton College, Oxford. ("Philosophy at Home" Series.) London: Swan Sonnenschein. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 195. Price, 2s. 6d.

³ Leipzig: Hinrichs. 8vo, pp. 70. Price, M. 3.

⁴ Leipzig: Hinrichs. 8vo, pp. 63. Price, M. 2.

one which will be greatly valued by the limited circle of scholars to whom it appeals, is Dr Carl Schmidt's edition of *Gnostische Schriften in Koptischer Sprache aus dem Codex Brucianus*.¹ This volume represents an immense amount of work. Everything about it appears to be done with the utmost thoroughness. An Introduction of thirty-seven pages tells all that is needful about the manuscript. The Coptic texts are given; German translations follow; and many pages are devoted to critical and historical investigations into the composition and relations of the documents, and to a statement of their ideas. The author's studies in this abstruse region will contribute much to the understanding (if understood they can be) of some of the most curious of the Gnostic speculations on the worlds of light and æons, the Cosmos, the under-world, the mysteries, the being of man, the last things. The Gnostic Soteriology is very fully expounded, with its detailed teaching on the Person of the Redeemer, His pre-existence, His descent to this world, His birth and His life on earth. An important section is given to the consideration of the relation of all this to Scripture. Nothing is left undone indeed to make the inquiry complete. It is a mine of matter for the student and historian of doctrine.

An important contribution to the history of the religious houses of Mount Athos is made by Herr Philip Meyer.² While ministering to the German Church at Smyrna, he was able to make two visits to the Mount, and succeeded in getting access to a number of original documents belonging to the monasteries. He now publishes these. Most of them are given for the first time to the public. They are twenty-four in number, including the *Typikon*, *Testament*, and *Hypotyposis* of Athanasius, narratives of the period of the Emperors Alexios and Johannes Komnenos, the *Typikon* of Manuel Palæologus II., and others, down to the pronouncement of the Patriarch Joakim III. on the Russian question in 1875. Admirable sketches are also given of the early development of Greek monasticism, the legislation of Justinian, the fortunes of the monasteries, the changes through which they have passed, the controversies which have troubled them, the constitutions given them, and much else that is of interest in their history.

An important history of another kind comes from M. Philippe Berger—the *Histoire de l'Écriture dans l'Antiquité*.³ The book is a very handsome one, tastefully written, and illustrated by numerous plates and drawings of marked excellence. The first section of the

¹ Leipzig: Hinrichs. 8vo, pp. xii. 692. Price, M. 22.

² Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster, &c. Von Ph. Meyer, Studiendirector des Predigerseminars auf der Erichsburg. Leipzig: Hinrichs. 8vo, pp. viii. 801. Price, M. 10.

³ Paris: Fischbacher. 8vo, pp. 389.

book gives an account of the origin of writing, mnemonic signs, stickmessages, wampums, and the like. Then some chapters are devoted to the various forms of the hieroglyphic, as seen not only in the great systems of the ancient world, but also among the Mexicans and others. Concise statements are next given of Chinese, Japanese, Persian, Cypriote, Egyptian, and Hittite modes. The rest of the volume is occupied with the origin and development of the alphabet, the different forms which it has taken, the derivatives of the Greek and Aramæan modes, and the main questions which have arisen in connection with this subject. The book is one of great interest and value, pleasant to read, careful and measured in its statements, and full of information. Among other sections of very special interest we may refer to those which deal with the date and origin of the alphabets of India, the Nabatean alphabet, and the Ogham writing.

The papers read at the first Conference of the Scottish Church Society are published.¹ They are brief, but range over a great variety of subjects—Devotional Life, Education, Evangelistic Work, Social Questions, National Religion, and others. Some of them make a great deal of the Sacraments, and the Observance of the Christian Year; others occupy themselves with the Divine Order of Finance, and the Historic Continuity of the Church of Scotland. Some of them are disfigured by flings at other Churches, and particular men or classes of men in these Churches; others are better informed, and of a better spirit. Some curious things are said of Religious Equality and National Religion. Misconceptions, which seemed to be past and gone on these topics, re-appear in their first fresh *naïveté*. A suggestive paper is contributed on the Training of the Clergy by the late Professor Dobie.

The tenth volume of the Fourth Series of the *Expositor*² contains many admirable papers on a variety of subjects by men like Professors Beet, Dods, Harper, Macalister, Smith, and Nestle, Prebendary Whitefoord, Messrs Wright, Watson, Rendal, and others. It gives a continuation of Professor Bruce's instructive studies in Paul's doctrine, those on the great Apostle's conception of the *Holy Spirit*, and his purpose in speaking of Christ as "in the likeness of sinful flesh," deserving special notice. Great interest is also given to this volume by Mr Locke's papers on Sayings of our Lord not recorded in the Gospels, and, above all, by the discussions on the Galatian question, which are contributed by Professor Ramsay, Mr Chase, and Mr Rendal.

¹ Scottish Church Society Conferences. First Series. Edinburgh: J. Gardner Hitt. 8vo, pp. 200. Price, 4s. 6d. net.

² Edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. 475. Price, 7s. 6d.

The fifth volume of the *Expository Times*¹ is to hand. To say of it that it will compare favourably with any of its predecessors, is to say much. The Editor's own work is always done with taste and point, and he has the assistance of many competent writers. Some of the papers, especially those on the Theology of Isaiah, by Professor A. B. Davidson, stand out conspicuous. But there are others, too many to particularise, which make interesting contributions to a wide variety of subjects—the interpretation of difficult texts, the estimate of notable theologians, the study of the Prophets, the criticism of the Gospels, and others. The needs of the busy minister are a special subject of consideration in this valuable magazine.

We have also to notice the following:—*Le Christianisme de l'Avenir*,² a series of reflections, suggestive and in excellent style, on the transformation of the Christianity of the Churches; a searching criticism of certain parts of Nietzsche's philosophy, by Professor Ludwig Stein of Bern;³ a short criticism of Professor Drummond, by Dr Hornburg, of Stralsund;⁴ an interesting historical sketch of the use of dialogue in Apologetics, by Professor Zöckler, of Greifswald;⁵ an Address on the *Divinity of Christ*,⁶ directed to believers and unbelievers, by Eugen Heinrich Schmitt, of Buda-Pesth; the completion of the new edition of the late Dr L. Bonnet's *Épîtres de Paul*,⁷ an exposition which, by the point and lucidity of its Notes, and its useful Introductions and Analyses, has won large and well-deserved acceptance with French readers; a volume containing some good aphorisms on matters of religion, by the late Stephan Rónay,⁸ edited by Eugen Heinrich Schmitt; the first part of Dr Johannes Bachmann's edition of the Ethiopic Version of the Minor Prophets,⁹ prepared on the basis of manuscript

¹ Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. 568. Price, 7s. 6d.

² Par Frank Duperrut. Paris: Fischbacher. Cr. 8vo, pp. 258. Price, F. 2.50.

³ Friedrich Nietzsche's Weltanschauung und ihre Gefahren. Berlin: Reimer. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 103. Price, M. 1.80.

⁴ Henry Drummond, der Naturforscher unter den Theologen. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. 19.

⁵ Der Dialog im Dienste der Apologetik. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 69.

⁶ Die Gottheit-Christi im Geiste des modernen Menschen. Leipzig: Jansen. 8vo, pp. 76.

⁷ Troisième Édition, revue et augmentée. Lausanne: Bridel et Cie. 8vo, pp. 588. Price, F. 10.

⁸ Das natürliche Christenthum: Aphorismen. Leipzig: Jansen. 8vo, pp. 62.

⁹ Dodekapropheten Æthiopum, &c. Heft I. Der Prophet Obadia. Halle: Niemeyer. 8vo, pp. 52. Price, M. 2.

authority, and furnished with critical notes ; Dr Richard Kraetzschmar's admirably printed unpointed edition of the Masoretic text of Isaiah ;¹ two further instalments of the *Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen- und dogmengeschichtlicher Quellenschriften*, carefully edited by Professor D. G. Krüger of Griefswald, and well adapted for use as Class-books ;² Professor Remigius Stölzle's edition, important as the primary edition, of Abelard's *Tractatus de Unitate et Trinitate Divina*³—the treatise condemned at Soissons in 1121 ; a pamphlet by E. Cremer, giving some sound criticisms of the views of Frank and Herrmann on the subject of Christian Certainty ;⁴ a very readable essay on *Preaching : the Matter and the Manner*,⁵ by the author of *The History of Preaching* (1880) ; a Second Edition of Professor Hermann Cremer's vigorous defence of the Apostles' Creed ;⁶ a Second Edition also of Archdeacon Perowne's *Our High Priest in Heaven*,⁷ a defence of the Evangelical doctrine of Christ's Priesthood as against the extreme High Church view ; a sketch of the recent History of the Textual Criticism of the New Testament, by Arnold Rüegg,⁸ intended mainly for the help of the practical theologian, and shewing a wide and appreciative acquaintance with the subject ; an able and interesting pamphlet (which narrowly escaped destruction by fire in the publisher's premises), by the Rev. Robert C. Jenkins, written at the request of Cardinal Newman, and throwing important light on the development of the Nicene Creed into the form it took at Constantinople ;⁹ a Second Edition of Dr James S. Dennis's *Foreign Missions after a Century*,¹⁰ a Course of Lectures delivered in connection with a new foundation in Princeton Theological Seminary, and dealing in a fresh and forcible way with the message, meaning, conflicts, problems, and successes of the Foreign

¹ Jesaia, &c. ; für den akademischen Gebrauch. Freiburg i. B. : J. C. B. Mohr. 8vo, pp. 48. Price, M. 1.

² Des Gregorios Thaumaturgos Dankrede an Origenes, &c. : herausgegeben von Dr phil. Paul Koetschau. Freiburg i. B. : J. C. B. Mohr. 8vo, pp. 78. Price, M. 2.—Ausgewählte Sermonen des heiligen Bernhard über das Hohelied. Herausgegeben von Otto Baltzer. Freiburg i. B. : J. C. B. Mohr. 8vo, pp. 104. Price, M. 1.80.

³ Freiburg i. B. : Herder. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxxvi. 101.

⁴ Ueber die Entstehung der Christlichen Gewissheit. Gütersloh : Bertelsmann. Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. Pp. 43.

⁵ London : Elliot Stock. Pp. 32.

⁶ Warum können wir das apostolische Glaubensbekenntniss nicht aufgeben ? Berlin : Wiegandt u. Grieben. Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 48.

⁷ London : Elliot Stock. Pp. xii. 114. Price, 1s.

⁸ Zürich : Füssli. 8vo, pp. 97. Price, M. 3.

⁹ From the Death of St Athanasius to the Death of St Basil and the Council of Constantinople. London : David Nutt. 8vo, pp. 48.

¹⁰ New York : Fleming H. Revell Company. Cr. 8vo, pp. 368. Price, \$1.50.

field of the present day ; an acute and discriminating essay by Professor Henri Bois of Montauban, on *Le Dogme Grec*,¹ discussing, among other points, its relation to Science, to Civilisation, and to the essence of Christianity, the question of the Evolution of Dogmas, and the views of the late Dr. Hatch,—a volume deserving a more extended notice than our limits at present allow ; *Discipleship : The Scheme of Christianity*²—a shorter and more popular statement by the author of *The King and the Kingdom* of the positions argued out in that work ; *A Help for the Common Days*³—a series of short papers by Dr J. R. Miller on matters of practical religion—simple, devout, unpretentious, with much good counsel for the Christian use of common days ; *Modern Spiritualism*⁴—a reprint of five racy discourses delivered by the Rev. Edward White at the *Merchants' Lecture*, in which the system is judged in the light of Divine Revelation, and set forth in its hostility to Christianity ; Mrs Sydney Buxton's *Side Lights upon Bible History*⁵—a series of well-written chapters on Babylonia, Egypt, the Assyrian Revival, the fall of Nebuchadnezzar, and on dynasties, records, and events through which the Bible history is connected with the histories of other nations than the Israelites ; another addition to the *Ethical Library* published by Messrs Swan Sonnenschein & Co.—viz., *Short Studies in Character*⁶—a series of papers on the Cardinal Virtues, Ideals of Womanliness, Moral Education, and kindred topics, lively in style and suggestive ; the fifth edition of Professor Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*,⁷ and in connection with this an *Appendix*⁸ issued in separate form, in which the corrections and additions (consisting mostly of notices of new literature) embodied in this new edition are considerably, and at a small cost, put at the service of those who have the earlier issues ; two important additions to the *Porta Linguarum Orientalium*, an *Egyptian Grammar*⁹ and a *Coptic*,¹⁰ each the work of an expert, both printed with

¹ Paris : Fischbacher. 12mo, pp. 299. Price, F. 3.

² London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. ix. 323. Price, 2s. 6d.

³ Edinburgh : Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 320. Price, 2s. 6d.

⁴ London : Elliot Stock. Crown 8vo, pp. 80. Price 1s.

⁵ London : Macmillan & Co. Crown 8vo, pp. 299. Price, 5s.

⁶ By Sophie Bryant, D.Sc. London : Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Crown 8vo, pp. 247. Price, 4s. 6d.

⁷ Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. Post 8vo, pp. xxxvi. 565. Price, 12s.

⁸ Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. Post 8vo, pp. 21. Price, 1s.

⁹ *Ägyptische Grammatik*, &c. Von Adolph Erman. Berlin : Reuther u. Reichard. Crown 8vo, pp. xiv. 270. Price, M. 16.

¹⁰ *Koptische Grammatik*, &c. Von Georg Steindorf. Berlin : Reuther u. Reichard. Crown 8vo, pp. xviii. 314. Price, M. 18.20.

great care, and fully furnished with tables, chrestomathies, indices, and all that is needed to facilitate the student's course ; Friedrich Schwally's *Das Leben nach dem Tode*,¹ a Biblico-theological study of the thoughts of ancient Israel on an after-existence, prosecuted in the historical spirit, instructive on many points of the exegesis, and giving a useful and informing conspectus of the ideas found in the Hebrew Scriptures, the opinions which prevailed in the later literature of Judaism, and the popular faith of the Jews of our Lord's time ; the Rev. George A. Gordon's *The Witness to Immortality in Literature, Philosophy and Life*²—a rich book, giving in attractive style the fruits of much independent study of the subject, as well as the results of a wide, scholarly, and sympathetic acquaintance with the best that has been written on it by poet, philosopher, and theologian. The chapters on the teaching of the Hebrew prophets, St Paul, and our Lord Himself, on Immortality are of especial value. In admirable form they present the broad outlines of the Biblical doctrine in its essential import, its historical position and progress, and its relation to faith, feeling, and reason ; Professor Charles Carroll Everett's *The Gospel of Paul*,³ which undertakes to establish a new reading of Paul's doctrine of the Atonement. The Harvard Professor founds this on a very literal and restricted interpretation of one or two passages, especially Gal. ii. 19, 20, iii. 13. It amounts to this, that the Mosaic Law, which pronounced him cursed who was hanged on a tree, cast out Christ when He was crucified, and so all relation between Christ and the Law ceased and determined ; that Paul, in identifying himself with Christ, passed into the same position, but found at the same time a new sense of reconciliation and pardon, and a new moral power made his through this connection with Christ, apart from the Law. All beyond this, and, in particular, the whole conception of a substitutionary sacrifice, must be regarded as later speculation. Professor Everett's heaviest task is to empty the Pauline Epistles of the great ideas of vicarious offering, and in this we cannot say he has succeeded ; Richard Kabisch's *Die Eschatologie des Paulus*⁴—a book somewhat hard to read, but containing some acute reasoning. It is an attempt to interpret Paul's teaching on the Last Things in its connection with his general system of doctrine, as found in 1 Thessalonians and the four great Epistles accepted by Baur. With

¹ Giessen : Ricker. 8vo, pp. 204. Price, M. 5.

² Boston and New York : Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. 310. Price, \$1.50.

³ Boston and New York : Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiii. 307. Price, \$1.50.

⁴ Göttingen : Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht. Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. viii. 338. Price, M. 7.

much that deserves consideration, the book follows too often a somewhat forced exegesis, and commits itself to results (for example, the purely physical sense of *life* and *death* in the Pauline writings) which it will be difficult to reconcile either with the general scope of Paul's teaching, or with the general tenor of Scripture. This is due in large part to the imperfect recognition of the relation of Paul's terms to those of the Old Testament.

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